

# THE UNITED NATIONS YEARBOOK

1946

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ALLIED STATESMEN AND AMBASSADORS

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## PREFACE

THE present issue of the UNITED NATIONS YEARBOOK contains such information as could be gathered on Allied Governments, biographical notes on their members, texts of some of the most important international and regional agreements and some authoritative statements by allied experts concerning their respective fields of activity. No such collection could ever be complete or entirely up to date. Biographical and bibliographical information concerning one country is by far more extensive than that concerning others, and the material collected in the one case is not of a date as recent as that of other cases. More space will be attributed in a subsequent issue to countries which have had but little allocated in the present one and it will contain such information as has not yet reached us. It will be the constant task of its Editor to gather all items of information and to present them as quickly as possible in print—an easier task when wartime conditions have entirely ceased to exist.

The Editor is extremely grateful to all those who have made this book possible by contributing to its contents or by furnishing him with information of interest for the United Nations. He feels that there is much room for improvement and will welcome any corrections and suggestions for betterment. With the end of the war and whilst this work was in preparation, many government changes were taking place, necessitating constant revision. The 1944-5 edition of the UNITED NATIONS YEARBOOK, in course of preparation in June, 1944, was immediately outdated by the events following the invasion of France.

H. R. M.

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## I. INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS

### I. INTER-ALLIED RESOLUTION ON MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

adopted at an Inter-Allied Meeting at London on June 12, 1941, by the Allied Governments (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia), the leader of the Free French and the United Kingdom and Dominion Governments:

1. That they will continue to struggle against German or Italian oppression until victory is won and will mutually assist each other in this struggle to the utmost of their respective capacities.

2. That there can be no settled peace and prosperity so long as free peoples are coerced by violence into submission to domination by Germany or her associates, or live under the threat of such coercion.

3. That the only basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security, and that it is their intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace, to this end.

### II. THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

*August 14, 1941*

THE President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policy of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world:

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

4. They will endeavour, with due respect to their existing obligations to further enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms, to the trade and the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

6. After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford an assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

8. They believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force.

Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, and air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential.

They will likewise aid and encourage all other practical measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

### III. INTER-ALLIED RESOLUTION ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

adopted at the second Inter-Allied meeting at St. James's Palace on September 24, 1941:

The Governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia and representatives of General de Gaulle, Leader of Free Frenchmen, having taken note of the declaration, recently drawn up by the President of the United States and by the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, on behalf of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, now make known their adherence to the common principles of policy set forth in that declaration and their intention to co-operate to the best of their ability in giving effect to them:

1. That it is their common aim to secure that supplies of food, raw materials and articles of prime necessity could be made available for the post-war needs of the countries liberated from Nazi oppression.

2. That while each of the Allied Governments and authorities will be primarily responsible for making provision for the economic needs of its own people, their respective plans should be co-ordinated in a spirit of inter-allied collaboration, for the successful achievement of the common aim.

3. That they welcome the preparatory measures which have already been undertaken for this purpose and express their readiness to collaborate to the fullest extent of their power in pursuing the action required.

4. That accordingly each of the Allied Governments and authorities should prepare estimates of the kinds and amounts of foodstuffs, raw materials and articles of prime necessity required, and indicate the order of priority in which it would desire supplies to be delivered.

5. That the reprovisioning of Europe will require the most efficient employment after the war of the shipping resources controlled by each government and of Allied resources as a whole, as well as of those belonging to other European countries, and that plans to this end should be worked out as soon as possible between the Allied Governments and authorities, in consultation as and when appropriate with other Governments concerned.

6. That, as the first step, a bureau should be established by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom with which the Allied



Governments and authorities would collaborate in framing estimates of their requirements and which, after collating and co-ordinating these estimates, would present proposals to a committee of Allied representatives under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Leith-Ross.

#### IV. UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION

*Washington, January 1, 1942*

DECLARATION by United Nations: A joint declaration by the United States of America, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The Governments signatory hereto having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and to conserve human rights and justice in their own lands, as well as in other lands and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

1. Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such Government is at war.

2. Each Government pledges itself to co-operate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make separate armistice or peace with the enemy.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are or which may be rendering material assistance and contribution in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

This declaration was signed by the above-mentioned countries. Mexico adhered to it on her entry into the war. The Philippines and Ethiopia adhered to the declaration in October, 1942. The French National Committees are identified with the United Nations, though not constituted as a Government. Brazil, Iran and Iraq have also joined the United Nations.

#### V. INTER-ALLIED DECLARATION ON PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

at St. James's Palace, January 13, 1942:

WHEREAS Germany, since the beginning of the present conflict, which arose out of her policy of aggression, has instituted in the occupied countries a régime of terror, characterized in particular by imprisonment, mass expulsions, the execution of hostages and massacres.

And whereas these acts of violence are being similarly perpetrated by the Allies and Associates of the Reich and, in certain countries, by the accomplices of the occupying Power,

And whereas international solidarity is necessary in order to avoid the repression of these acts of violence simply by acts of vengeance on the part of the general public, and in order to satisfy the sense of justice of the civilized world,

Recalling that international law and in particular the convention signed in The Hague in 1907 regarding the laws and customs of land warfare, do not permit belligerents in occupied countries to perpetrate acts of violence against civilians, to bring into disrepute the laws in force or to overthrow national institutions;

The undersigned Representatives of the Government of Belgium, the Government of Czechoslovakia, the Free French National Committee, the Government of Greece, the Government of Luxembourg, the Government of the Netherlands, the Government of Norway, the Government of Poland, and the Government of Yugoslavia:

(1) affirm that acts of violence thus perpetrated against the civilian populations are at variance with accepted ideas concerning acts of war and political offences as these are understood by civilised nations,

(2) take note of the declaration made in this respect on 25th of October, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and by the British Prime Minister,

(3) place amongst their principal war aims the punishment, through the channel of organized justice, of those guilty and responsible for these crimes, whether they have ordered them, perpetrated them or in any way participated in them,

(4) determine in the spirit of international solidarity to see to it that (a) those guilty and responsible, whatever their nationality, are sought for, handed over to justice and judged, (b) that the sentences pronounced are carried out.

In faith whereof the signatories duly authorised have signed the present Declaration.

## VI. UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

(DRAFT OF SEPTEMBER 20, 1943)

THE Governments or Authorities whose duly-authorized representatives have subscribed hereto.

Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their

homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services,

Have agreed as follows:

## ARTICLE I

There is hereby established the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

1. The Administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to designate or create agencies and to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and purposes.

2. Subject to the provisions of Article VII, the purposes and functions of the Administration shall be as follows:

(a) To plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for the relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and other basic necessities, medical and other essential services; and to facilitate in such areas, so far as necessary to the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services. The form of activities of the Administration within the territory of a member government wherein that government exercises administrative authority and the responsibility to be assumed by the member government for carrying out measures planned by the Administration therein shall be determined after consultation with and with the consent of the member government.

(b) To formulate and recommend measures for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments for the co-ordination of purchasing, the use of ships and other procurement activities in the period following the cessation of hostilities, with a view to integrating the plans and activities of the Administration with the total movement of supplies, and for the purpose of achieving an equitable distribution of available supplies. The Administration may administer such co-ordination measures as may be authorized by the member governments concerned.

(c) To study, formulate and recommend for individual or joint action by any or all of the member governments measures with respect to such related matters, arising out of its experience in planning and performing the work of relief and rehabilitation, as may be proposed by any of the member governments. Such proposals shall be studied and recommendations formulated if the proposals are supported by a vote of the Council, and the recommendations shall be referred to any or all of the member governments for individual or joint action if approved by unanimous vote of the Central Committee and by vote of the Council.

## ARTICLE II

### *Membership*

The members of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be the governments or authorities signatory hereto and such

other governments or authorities as may upon application for membership be admitted thereto by action of the Council. The Council may, if it desires, authorize the Central Committee to accept new members between sessions of the Council.

Wherever the term 'member government' is used in this Agreement it shall be construed to mean a member of the Administration, whether a government or an authority.

### ARTICLE III

#### *The Council*

1. Each member government shall name one representative, and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall determine its own rules of procedure. Unless otherwise provided by the Agreement or by action of the Council, the Council shall vote by simple majority.

2. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. It may be convened in special session whenever the Central Committee shall deem necessary, and shall be convened within thirty days after request therefor by one third of the members of the Council.

3. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of the representatives of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, with the Director-General presiding without vote. Between sessions of the Council it shall when necessary make policy decisions of an emergency nature. All such decisions shall be recorded in the minutes of the Central Committee which shall be communicated promptly to each member government. Such decisions shall be open to reconsideration by the Council at any regular session or at any special session called in accordance with Article III, paragraph 2. The Central Committee shall invite the participation of the representatives of any member government at those of its meetings at which action of special interest to such government is discussed. It shall invite the participation of the representative serving as Chairman of the Committee on Supplies of the Council at those of its meetings at which policies affecting the provision of supplies are discussed.

4. The Committee on Supplies of the Council shall consist of the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing those member governments likely to be principal suppliers of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee on Supplies shall consider, formulate and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies designed to assure the provision of required supplies. The Central Committee shall from time to time meet with the Committee on Supplies to review policy matters affecting supplies.

5. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the European area, and such other members of the Council, representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the European area, as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council, or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern area, and such other members of the Council representing other governments directly concerned with the problems of relief and rehabilitation in the Far Eastern area as shall be appointed by the Council; the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make these appointments in cases of emergency between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. The regional committees shall normally meet within their respective areas. They shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation within their respective areas. The Committee of the Council for Europe shall replace the Inter-Allied Committee on European post-war relief established in London on September 24, 1941, and the records of the latter shall be made available to the Committee for Europe.

6. The Council shall establish such other standing regional committees as it shall consider desirable, the functions of such committees and the method of appointing their members being identical to that provided in paragraph 5 of this Article with respect to the Committees of the Council for Europe and for the Far East. The Council shall also establish such other standing committees as it considers desirable to advise it, and, in intervals between sessions of the Council, to advise the Central Committee. For such technical standing committees as may be established, in respect of particular problems such as nutrition, health, agriculture, transport, repatriation, and finance, the members may be members of the Council or their alternates nominated by them because of special competence in their respective fields of work. The members shall be appointed by the Council, and the Council may authorize the Central Committee to make emergency appointments between sessions of the Council, such appointments to continue until the next session of the Council. Should a regional committee so desire, sub-committees of the technical standing committees shall be established by the technical committees in consultation with the regional committees, to advise the regional committees.

7. The travel and other expenses of members of the Council and of members of its committees shall be borne by the governments which they represent.

8. All reports and recommendations of committees of the Council shall be transmitted to the Director-General for distribution to the Council and the Central Committee by the secretariat of the Council established under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 4.

## ARTICLE IV

*The Director-General*

1. The executive authority of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration shall be in the Director-General, who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee. The Director-General may be removed by the Council on recommendation, by unanimous vote, of the Central Committee.

2. The Director-General shall have full power and authority for carrying out relief operations contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (a), within the limits of available resources and the broad policies determined by the Council or its Central Committee. Immediately upon taking office he shall in conjunction with the military and other appropriate authorities of the United Nations prepare plans for the emergency relief of the civilian population in any area occupied by the armed forces of any of the United Nations, arrange for the procurement and assembly of the necessary supplies and create or select the emergency organisation required for this purpose. In arranging for the procurement, transportation, and distribution of supplies and services, he and his representatives shall consult and collaborate with the appropriate authorities of the United Nations and shall, wherever practicable, use the facilities made available by such authorities. Foreign voluntary relief agencies may not engage in activity in any area receiving relief from the Administration without the consent and unless subject to the regulation of the Director-General. The powers and duties of the Director-General are subject to the limitations of Article VII.

3. The Director-General shall also be responsible for the organization and direction of the functions contemplated by Article I, paragraph 2 (b) and 2 (c).

4. The Director-General shall appoint such Deputy Directors-General, officers, expert personnel, and staff at his headquarters and elsewhere, including field missions, as he shall find necessary, and he may delegate to them such of his powers as he may deem appropriate. The Director-General, or upon his authorization the Deputy Directors-General, shall supply such secretariat and other staff and facilities as shall be required by the Council and its committees, including the regional committees and sub-committees. Such Deputy Directors-General as shall be assigned special functions within a region shall attend meetings of the regional standing committee whenever possible and shall keep it advised on the progress of the relief and rehabilitation programme within the region.

5. The Director-General shall make periodic reports to the Central Committee and to the Council covering the progress of the Administration's activities. The reports shall be made public except for such portions as the Central Committee may consider it necessary, in the interest of the United Nations, to keep confidential; if a report affects the interests of a member government in such a way as to render it questionable whether it should be published, such government shall have an opportunity of expressing its views on the question of publication. The Director-General shall also arrange to have prepared periodic reports covering the activities

of the Administration within each region and he shall transmit such reports with his comments thereon to the Council, the Central Committee and the respective regional committees.

## ARTICLE V

### *Supplies and Resources*

In so far as its appropriate constitutional bodies shall authorize, each member government will contribute to the support of the Administration in order to accomplish the purposes of Article I, paragraph 2 (a). The amount and character of the contributions of each member government under this provision will be determined from time to time by its appropriate constitutional bodies. All such contributions received by the Administration shall be accounted for.

2. The supplies and resources made available by the member governments shall be kept in review in relation to prospective requirements by the Director-General, who shall initiate action with the member governments with a view to assuring such additional supplies and resources as may be required.

3. All purchases by any of the member governments, to be made outside their own territories during the war for relief or rehabilitation purposes, shall be made only after consultation with the Director-General, and shall, so far as practicable, be carried out through the appropriate United Nations agency.

## ARTICLE VI

### *Administrative Expenses*

The Director-General shall submit to the Council an annual budget, and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration. Upon approval of a budget by the Council the total amount approved shall be allocated to the member governments in proportions to be determined by the Council. Each member government undertakes, subject to the requirements of its constitutional procedure, to contribute to the Administration promptly its share of the Administrative expenses so determined.

## ARTICLE VII

Notwithstanding any other provision herein contained, while hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director-General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command of that area, and unless subject to such control as the command may find necessary. The determination that such hostilities or military necessities exist in any area shall be made by its military commander.

## ARTICLE VIII

### *Amendment*

The provisions of this Agreement may be amended as follows:

a. Amendments involving new obligations for member governments shall require the approval of the Council by a two-thirds vote and shall take effect for each member government on acceptance by it;

b. Amendments involving modification of Article III or Article IV shall take effect on adoption by the Council by a two-thirds vote, including the votes of all the members of the Central Committee;

c. Other amendments shall take effect on adoption by the Council by two-thirds vote.

## ARTICLE IX

### *Entry into Force*

This Agreement shall enter into force with respect to each signatory on the date when the Agreement is signed by that signatory, unless otherwise specified by such signatory.

## ARTICLE X

### *Withdrawal*

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect twelve months after the date of its communication to the Director-General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it.

## VII. MOSCOW DECLARATIONS

*November 1, 1943*

### I. FOUR NATIONS DECLARATION ON SECURITY

THE Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and China: United in their determination, in accordance with the declaration by the United Nations of January 1st, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those Axis Powers with which they respectively are at war until such Powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender; conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the people allied to them from the menace of aggression: recognizing the necessity of ensuring rapid and orderly transit from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of this world's human and economic resources for armaments; jointly, declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security;

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy;

3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed on the enemy;



4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States and open to membership by all such States, large or small, for the maintenance of international peace and security;

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security they will consult with each other, and, as occasion requires, with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations;

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation; and

7. That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

## 2. THREE POWER DECLARATION ON ATROCITIES

The United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres, and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by the Hitlerite forces in many of the countries they have overrun and from which they are now being steadily expelled. The brutalities of Hitlerite domination are no new thing, and all peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror.

What is new is that many of these territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating Powers and that, in their desperation, the recoiling Hitlerite Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced with particular clearness by the monstrous crimes of the Hitlerites on the territory of the Soviet Union which is being liberated from the Hitlerites, and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly the aforesaid three allied Powers, speaking in the interests of the 32 United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of the declaration as follows: At the time of the granting of any armistice to any Government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres, and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free Governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries having regard especially to the invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece, including Crete and other islands, to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France, and Italy.

Thus Germans who take part in wholesale shootings of Polish officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian, or Norwegian hostages or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in the slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in the territories of the Soviet Union which are now

being swept clear of the enemy, will know that they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged. Let those who have hitherto not imbrued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three allied Powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to the accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offences have no particular geographical location and who will be punished by a joint decision of the Governments of the Allies.

### 3. DECLARATION ON ITALY

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union have established that their three Governments are in complete agreement that allied policy towards Italy must be based upon the fundamental principle that Fascism and all its evil influence and emanations shall be utterly destroyed, and that the Italian people shall be given every opportunity to establish governmental and other institutions based upon democratic principles.

The Foreign Secretaries of the United States and United Kingdom declare that the action of their Governments from the inception of the invasion of Italian territory, in so far as paramount military requirements have permitted, has been based upon this policy.

In furtherance of this policy in the future the Foreign Secretaries of the three Governments are agreed that the following measures are important and should be put into effect:

(1) It is essential that the Italian Government should be made more democratic by the introduction of representatives of those sections of the Italian people who have always opposed Fascism.

(2) Freedom of speech, of religious worship, of political belief, of Press, and of public meeting shall be restored in full measure to the Italian people, who shall also be entitled to form anti-Fascist political groups.

(3) All institutions and organizations created by the Fascist régime shall be suppressed.

(4) All Fascist or pro-Fascist elements shall be removed from administration and from institutions and organizations of a public character.

(5) All political prisoners of the Fascist régime shall be released and accorded a full amnesty.

(6) Democratic organs of local government shall be created.

(7) Fascist chiefs and army generals known or suspected to be war criminals shall be arrested and handed over to justice.

In making this declaration the three Foreign Secretaries recognize that so long as active military operations continue in Italy the time at which it is possible to give full effect to the principles set out above will be determined by the Commander-in-Chief on the basis of instructions received through the combined Chiefs of Staff. The three Governments parties to this declaration will at the request of any one of them consult on this matter.

It is further understood that nothing in this resolution is to operate against the right of the Italian people ultimately to choose their own form of government.

#### 4. DECLARATION ON AUSTRIA

The Government of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United States have agreed that Austria, the first free country to fall a victim to Nazi aggression, shall be liberated from German domination.

They regard the annexation imposed upon Austria by Germany's penetration of March 15th, 1938, as null and void. They consider themselves as in no way bound by any changes effected in Austria since that date. They declare that they wish to see re-established a free and independent Austria, and thereby to open the way for the Austrian people themselves, as well as those neighbouring States which will be faced with similar problems, to find that political and economic security which is the only basis for lasting peace.

Austria is reminded however that she has a responsibility which she cannot evade for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany, and that in the final settlement account will inevitably be taken of her own contribution to her liberation.

### VIII. TEHERAN DECLARATION

*December 1, 1943*

WE, The President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the Premier of the Soviet Union, have met these four days past in this the capital of our ally Iran and have shaped and confirmed our common policy.

We expressed our determination that our Nations shall work together in war and in the peace that will follow.

As to war, our military staffs have joined in our round-table discussions, and we have concerted our plans for the destruction of the German forces. We have reached complete agreement as to the scope and timing of the operations which will be undertaken from the east, west and south.

The common understanding which we have here reached guarantees that victory will be ours,

And, as to peace, we are sure that our concord will make it an enduring peace. We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the good will of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations.

With our diplomatic advisers we have surveyed the problems of the future. We shall seek the co-operation and the active participation of all nations large and small whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated as are our own peoples to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. We will welcome them as they may choose to come into a world family of democratic nations.

No power on earth can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air. Our attacks will be relentless and increasing.

From these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their varying desires and their own consciences.

We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose.

*Signed at Teheran, December 1, 1943.*

ROOSEVELT.  
STALIN.  
CHURCHILL.

## IX. SUMMARY OF AGREEMENTS OF BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE

*July 1, 1944*

THIS Conference at Bretton Woods, representing nearly all the peoples of the world, has considered matters of international money and finance which are important for peace and prosperity. The Conference has agreed on the problems needing attention, the measures which should be taken, and the forms of international co-operation or organization which are required. The agreement reached on these large and complex matters is without precedent in the history of international economic relations.

### I. INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Since foreign trade affects the standard of life of every people, all countries have a vital interest in the system of exchange of national currencies and the regulations and conditions which govern its working. Because these monetary transactions are international exchanges, the nations must agree on the basic rules which govern the exchanges if the system is to work smoothly. When they do not agree, and when single nations and small groups of nations attempt by special and different regulations of the foreign exchanges to gain trade advantages, the result is instability, a reduced volume of foreign trade, and damage to national economies. This course of action is likely to lead to economic warfare, and to endanger the world's peace.

The Conference has therefore agreed that broad international action is necessary to maintain an international monetary system which will promote foreign trade. The nations should consult and agree on international monetary changes which affect each other. They should outlaw practices which are agreed to be harmful to world prosperity, and they should assist each other to overcome short-term exchange difficulties.

The Conference has agreed that the nations here represented should establish for these purposes a permanent international body, *The International Monetary Fund*, with powers and resources adequate to perform the tasks assigned to it. Agreement has been reached concerning these powers and resources and the additional obligations which the members of the countries should undertake. Draft Articles of Agreement on these points have been prepared.

## II. THE INTERNATIONAL BANK OF RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

It is in the interest of all nations that post-war reconstruction should be rapid. Likewise, the development of the resources of particular regions is in the general economic interest. Programmes of reconstruction and development will speed economic progress everywhere, will aid political stability and foster peace.

The Conference has agreed that expanded international investment is essential to provide a portion of the capital necessary for reconstruction and development.

The Conference has further agreed that the nations should co-operate to increase the volume of foreign investment for these purposes, made through normal business channels. It is especially important that the nations should co-operate to share the risks of such foreign investment, since the benefits are general.

The Conference has agreed that the nations should establish a permanent international body to perform these functions, to be called *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*. It has been agreed that the Bank should assist in providing capital through normal channels at reasonable rates of interest and for long periods for projects which will raise the productivity of the borrowing country. There is agreement that the Bank should guarantee loans made by others and that through their subscriptions of capital all countries should share with the borrowing country in guaranteeing such loans. The Conference has agreed on the powers and resources which the Bank must have and on the obligations which the member countries must assume, and has prepared Draft Articles of Agreement accordingly.

The Conference has recommended that in carrying out the policies of the institutions here proposed special consideration should be given to the needs of countries which have suffered from enemy occupation and hostilities.

The proposals formulated at the Conference for the establishment of the Fund and the Bank are now submitted, in accordance with the terms of the invitation, for consideration of the governments and people of the countries represented.

## X. DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

*October 9, 1944*

AGREEMENT was reached on a wide range of subjects, and tentative proposals have been made for the establishment of a general international organization under the title of The United Nations.

The proposals, which are set out in full below, deal with the purposes, principles, and membership of the organization, its principal organs, including a General Assembly, a Security Council, and an International Court of Justice; the composition, functions, and powers of the General Assembly and the Security Council; arrangements for the maintenance of international peace and security; international economic and social co-operation; and transitional arrangements.

The British, United States, Russian, and Chinese Governments have agreed that after further study of the tentative proposals now published

they will as soon as possible take the necessary steps with a view to the preparation of complete proposals which could then serve as a basis of discussion at a full conference of the United Nations.

The full report of the tentative proposals is as follows:

There should be established an international organization under the title of The United Nations, the Charter of which should contain provisions necessary to give effect to the proposals which follow:

## CHAPTER I. PURPOSES

The purposes of the organization should be:

(1) To maintain international peace and security; and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means the adjustment or settlement of international disputes which may lead to a breach of the peace; (2) to develop friendly relations among nations and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace; (3) to achieve international co-operation in the solution of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems; and (4) to afford a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the achievement of these common ends.

## CHAPTER II. PRINCIPLES

In pursuit of the purposes mentioned in Chapter I the organization and its members should act in accordance with the following principles:

(1) The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States.

(2) All members of the organization undertake, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership in the organization, to fulfil the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

(3) All members of the organization shall settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security are not endangered.

(4) All members of the organization shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the organization.

(5) All members of the organization shall give every assistance to the organization in any action undertaken by it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

(6) All members of the organization shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which preventive or enforcement action is being undertaken by the organization.

The organization should ensure that States not members of the organization act in accordance with these principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

## CHAPTER III. MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the organization should be open to all peace-loving States.

## CHAPTER IV. PRINCIPAL ORGANS

(1) The organization should have as its principal organs: (a) a general Assembly; (b) a Security Council; (c) an International Court of Justice; and (d) a Secretariat.

(2) The organization should have such subsidiary agencies as may be found necessary.

## CHAPTER V. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*(A) Composition*

All members of the organization should be members of the General Assembly and should have a number of representatives to be specified in the Charter.

*(B) Functions and Powers*

(1) The General Assembly should have the right to consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments; to discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member or members of the organization or by the Security Council; and to make recommendations with regard to any such principles or questions. Any such questions on which action is necessary should be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion. The General Assembly should not on its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council.

(2) The General Assembly should be empowered to admit new members to the organization upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

(3) The General Assembly should, on the recommendations of the Security Council, be empowered to suspend from the exercise of any rights or privileges of membership any member of the organization against which preventive or enforcement action shall have been taken by the Security Council. The exercise of the rights and privileges thus suspended may be restored by the decision of the Security Council. The General Assembly should be empowered on the recommendation of the Security Council to expel from the organization any member of the organization which persistently violates the principles contained in the Charter.

(4) The General Assembly should elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of the Economic and Social Council provided for in Chapter IX. It should be empowered to elect, on the recommendation of the Security Council, the secretary-general of the organization. It should perform such functions in relation to the election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice as may be conferred upon it by the Statute of the Court.

(5) The General Assembly should apportion the expenses among the members of the organization, and should be empowered to approve the budgets of the organization.

(6) The General Assembly should initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political, economic and social fields and of adjusting situations likely to impair the general welfare.

(7) The General Assembly should make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies of international economic, social, and other specialized agencies brought into relation with the organization in accordance with agreements between such agencies and the organization.

(8) The General Assembly should receive and consider annual and special reports from the security Council and reports from other bodies of the organization.

### *(C) Voting*

(1) Each member of the organization should have one vote in the General Assembly.

(2) Important decisions of the General Assembly, including recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security; the election of members of the Security Council; the election of members of the Economic and Social Council; the admission of members, suspension of exercise of the rights and privileges of members, and the expulsion of members; and budgetary questions should be made by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting. On other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, the decisions of the General Assembly should be made by a simple majority vote.

### *(D) Procedure*

(1) The General Assembly should meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require.

(2) The General Assembly should adopt its own rules of procedure and elect its president for each session.

(3) The General Assembly should be empowered to set up such bodies and agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions.

## CHAPTER VI. THE SECURITY COUNCIL

### *(A) Composition*

The Security Council should consist of one representative of each of 11 members of the organization. Representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Republic of China and in due course France, should have permanent seats. The General Assembly should elect six States to fill the non-permanent seats. These six States should be elected for a term of two years, three retiring each year. They should not be immediately eligible for re-election. In the first election of the non-permanent members three should be chosen by the General Assembly for one-year terms and three for two-year terms.



*(B) Principal Functions and Powers*

(1) In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the organization, members of the organization should by the Charter confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and should agree that in carrying out these duties under this responsibility it should act on their behalf.

(2) In discharging these duties the Security Council should act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization.

(3) The specific powers conferred on the Security Council in order to carry out these duties are laid down in Chapter VIII.

(4) All members of the organization should obligate themselves to accept the decisions of the Security Council and to carry them out in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

(5) In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armament the Security Council with the assistance of the military staff committee referred to in Chapter VIII, Section (B), paragraph 9, should have the responsibility for formulating plans for the establishment of a system of regulations of armaments for submission to the members of the organization.

*(C) Voting*

(Note.—The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration.)

*(D) Procedure*

(1) The Security Council should be so organized as to be able to function continuously and each State member of the Security Council should be permanently represented at the headquarters of the organization. It may hold meetings at such other places as in its judgment may best facilitate its work. There should be periodic meetings at which each State member of the Security Council could, if it so desired, be represented by any member of the Government or some other special representative.

(2) The Security Council should be empowered to set up such bodies or agencies as it may deem necessary for the performance of its functions, including regional sub-committees of the military staff committee.

(3) The Security Council should adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its president.

(4) Any member of the organization should participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the Security Council considers that the interests of that member of the organization are especially affected.

(5) Any member of the organization not having a seat on the Security Council and any State not a member of the organization if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council should be invited to participate in the discussion relating to the dispute.

## CHAPTER VII. AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

(1) There should be an International Court of Justice which should constitute the principal judicial organ of the organization.

(2) The Court should be constituted and should function in accordance with a Statute which should be annexed to and be a part of the Charter of the organization.

(3) The Statute of the Court of International Justice should be either (a) the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, continued in force with such modifications as may be desirable, or (b) a new Statute in the preparation of which the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice should be used as a basis.

(4) All members of the organization should, *ipso facto*, be parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

(5) Conditions under which States not members of the organization may become parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice should be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

## CHAPTER VIII. INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

(A) *The Pacific Settlement of Disputes*

(1) The Security Council should be empowered to investigate any dispute, or any situation which may lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

(2) Any State, whether a member of the organization or not, may bring any such dispute or situation to the attention of the General Assembly or of the Security Council.

(3) The parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security should obligate themselves, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement, or other peaceful means of their own choice. The Security Council should call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

(4) If, nevertheless, parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that paragraph, they should obligate themselves to refer it to the Security Council. The Security Council should in each case decide whether or not the continuance of the particular dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security and, accordingly, whether the Security Council should deal with the dispute, and, if so, whether it should take action under paragraph 5.

(5) The Security Council should be empowered at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in paragraph 3 to recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustments.

(6) Justiciable disputes should normally be referred to the International Court of Justice. The Security Council should be empowered to

refer to the Court for advice on legal questions connected with other disputes.

(7) The provisions of paragraphs 1-6 of Section VIII (A) should not apply to situations or disputes arising out of matters which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of the State concerned.

*(B) Determination of Threats to the Peace or Acts of Aggression, and Action with Respect Thereto*

(1) Should the Security Council deem that a failure to settle a dispute in accordance with the procedures indicated in paragraph 3 of Section A, or in accordance with its recommendations made under paragraph (5) of Section (A), constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security, it should take any measures necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the purposes and principles of the organization.

(2) In general the Security Council should determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression and should make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to maintain or restore peace and security.

(3) The Security Council should be empowered to determine what diplomatic, economic, or other measures not involving the use of armed force should be employed to give effect to its decisions, and to call upon members of the organization to apply such measures. Such measures may include complete or partial interruption of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic and economic relations.

(4) Should the Security Council consider such measures to be inadequate, it should be empowered to take such action by air, naval, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the organization.

(5) In order that all members of the organization should contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, they should undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements concluded among themselves, armed forces, facilities, and assistance necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. Such agreement or agreements should govern the numbers and types of forces and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided. The special agreement or agreements should be negotiated as soon as possible, and should in each case be subject to approval by the Security Council and to ratification by the signatory States in accordance with their constitutional processes.

(6) In order to enable urgent military measures to be taken by the organization, there should be held immediately available by the members of the organization national air force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action should be determined by the Security Council, with the assistance of the military staff committee,

within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in paragraph (5).

(7) The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security should be taken by all members of the organization in co-operation, or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine. This undertaking should be carried out by the members of the organization by their own action and through action of the appropriate specialized organizations and agencies of which they are members.

(8) Plans for the application of armed force should be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the military staff committee referred to in paragraph (9).

(9) There should be established a military staff committee, the functions of which should be to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, to the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, to the regulation of armaments and to possible disarmament. It should be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. The committee should be composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the organization not permanently represented on the committee should be invited by the committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the committee's responsibilities requires that such a State should participate in its work. Questions of command of forces should be worked out subsequently.

(10) The members of the organization should join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

(11) Any State, whether a member of the organization or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of measures which have been decided upon by the Security Council should have the right to consult the Security Council in regard to a solution of these problems.

### *(C) Regional Arrangements*

(1) Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

(2) The Security Council should, where appropriate, utilize such arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority but no enforcement action should be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

(3) The Security Council should at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

## CHAPTER IX. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

### *(A) Purpose and Relationship*

(1) With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, the organization should facilitate solutions of international economic, social, and other humanitarian problems, and promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Responsibility for the discharge of this function should be vested in the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly in an Economic and Social Council.

(2) The various specialized economic, social, and other organizations and agencies would have responsibilities in their respective fields as defined in their statutes. Each such organization or agency should be brought into relationship with the organization on terms to be determined by agreement between the Economic and Social Council and the appropriate authorities of the specialized organization or agency, subject to approval by the General Assembly.

### *(B) Composition and Voting*

The Economic and Social Council should consist of representatives of 18 members of the organization. The States to be represented for this purpose should be elected by the General Assembly for terms of three years. Each such State should have one representative, who should have one vote. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council should be taken by simple majority vote of those present and voting.

### *(C) Functions and Powers of the Economic and Social Council*

(1) The Economic and Social Council should be empowered: (a) To carry out, within the scope of its functions, recommendations of the General Assembly; (b) to make recommendations on its own initiative with respect to international, economic, social, and other humanitarian matters; (c) to receive and consider reports from the economic, social, and other organizations or agencies brought into relationship with the organization, and to co-ordinate their activities through consultations with, and recommendations to such organizations or agencies; (d) to examine the administrative budgets of such specialized organizations or agencies with a view to making recommendations to the organization or agencies concerned; (e) to enable the secretary-general to provide information to the Security Council; (f) to assist the Security Council upon its request; and (g) to perform such other functions within the general scope of its competence as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

### *(D) Organization and Procedure*

(1) The Economic and Social Council should set up an economic commission, a social commission, and such other commissions as may be required. These commissions should consist of experts. There should be a

permanent staff which should constitute a part of the secretariat of the organization.

(2) The Economic and Social Council should make suitable arrangements for representatives of the specialized organizations or agencies to participate without vote in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it.

(3) The Economic and Social Council should adopt its own rules of procedure and the method of selecting its president.

#### CHAPTER X. SECRETARIAT

(1) There should be a secretariat comprising a secretary-general and such staff as may be required. The secretary-general should be the chief administrative officer of the organization. He should be elected by the General Assembly on recommendation of the Security Council, for such term and under such conditions as are specified in the Charter.

(2) The secretary-general should act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, and of the Economic and Social Council, and should make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the organization.

(3) The secretary-general should have the right to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace and security.

#### CHAPTER XI. AMENDMENTS

Amendments should come into force for all members of the organization when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by the members of the organization having permanent membership on the Security Council and by a majority of the other members of the organization.

#### CHAPTER XII. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

(1) Pending the coming into force of the special agreement or agreements referred to in Chapter VIII, section (B), paragraph (5), and in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow on October 30, 1943, the State parties to that declaration should consult with one another and as occasion arises with other members of the organization with a view to such joint action on behalf of the organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

(2) No provision of the Charter should preclude action taken or authorized in relation to enemy States as a result of the present war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

### XI. CRIMEA COMMUNIQUE

*February 11, 1945*

For the past eight days, Mr. Winston S. Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States,

and Marshal J. V. Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., have met, with the Foreign Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff, and other advisers, in the Crimea.

In addition to the three heads of Governments, the following took part in the conference:

*For the United Kingdom*

Mr. Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport; Sir A. Clark Kerr, H.M. Ambassador at Moscow; Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of War Cabinet; Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, C.I.G.S.; Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles Portal, C.A.S.; Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord; and General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defence.

Together with Field-Marshal Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre; Field-Marshal Wilson, Head of the British Joint Staff Mission, Washington; Admiral Somerville, Joint Staff Mission, Washington; and diplomatic and military advisers.

*For the United States*

Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Secretary of State; Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff to the President; Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, Special Assistant to the President; Justice James F. Byrnes, Director of Office of War Mobilization; General of the Army George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, United States Army; Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations and C-in-C., United States Fleet; Lieutenant-General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces; Vice-Admiral Emery S. Land, War Shipping Administrator; Major-General L. S. Kuter, Staff Committee Commanding General United States Army Air Forces; Mr. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.; Mr. H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, State Department; Mr. Alger Hiss, Deputy Director of Office of Special Political Affairs, Department of State; and Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State; together with political, military, and technical advisers.

*For the Soviet Union*

Mr. V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of U.S.S.R.; Admiral Kuznetsov, People's Commissar for the Navy; Army General Antonov, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the Red Army; Mr. A. Y. Vyshinski and Mr. I. M. Maisky, Deputy People's Commissars for Foreign Affairs; Marshal of Aviation Khudyakov; Mr. F. T. Gousev, Ambassador in Great Britain; and Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Ambassador in the United States.

The following statement is made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the result of the Crimea Conference:

I. DEFEAT OF GERMANY

We have considered and determined the military plans of the three allied Powers for the final defeat of the common enemy. The Military

Staffs of the three allied Powers have met in daily meetings throughout the Conference. These meetings have been most satisfactory from every point of view and have resulted in closer co-ordination of the military effort of the three allies than ever before.

The fullest information has been interchanged. The timing, scope, and co-ordination of new and even more powerful blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from east, west, north, and south have been fully agreed and planned in detail.

Our combined military plans will be made known only as we execute them, but we believe that the very close working partnership among the three Staffs attained at this Conference will result in shortening the war. Meetings of the three Staffs will be continued in the future whenever the need arises.

Nazi Germany is doomed. The German people will only make the cost of their defeat heavier to themselves by attempting to continue a hopeless resistance.

## 2. OCCUPATION AND CONTROL

We have agreed on common policies and plans for enforcing the unconditional surrender terms which we shall impose together on Nazi Germany after German armed resistance has been finally crushed. These terms will not be made known until the final defeat of Germany is accomplished.

Under the agreed plans the forces of the three Powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Co-ordinated administration and control has been provided for under the plan through a Central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three Powers with headquarters in Berlin.

It has been agreed that France should be invited by the three Powers, if she should so desire, to take a zone of occupation, and to participate as fourth member of the Control Commission. The limits of the French zone will be agreed by the four Governments concerned through their representatives on the European Advisory Commission.

It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to justice and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, Nazi laws, organizations, and institutions; remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public offices and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world.

It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when Nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans and a place for them in the comity of nations.

## 3. REPARATION BY GERMANY

We have considered the question of the damage caused by Germany to Allied Nations in this war, and recognize it as just that Germany be



obliged to make compensation for the damage in kind to the greatest extent possible. A Commission for the Compensation of Damage will be established. The Commission will be instructed to consider the question of extent and methods for compensating damage caused by Germany to the Allied countries. The Commission will work in Moscow.

#### 4. UNITED NATIONS' CONFERENCE

We are resolved upon the earliest possible establishment with our allies of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. We believe that this is essential both to prevent aggression and to remove the political, economic, and social causes of war through the close and continuing collaboration of all peace-loving people. The foundations were laid at Dumbarton Oaks.

On the important question of voting procedure, however, agreement was not there reached. The present conference has been able to resolve the difficulty.

We have agreed that a Conference of United Nations should be called to meet at San Francisco, in the United States, on April 25, 1945, to prepare the Charter of such an organization along the lines proposed in the informal conversation at Dumbarton Oaks. The Government of China and Provisional Government of France will be immediately consulted and invited to sponsor invitations to the Conference jointly with the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. As soon as the consultation with China and France has been completed the text of the proposals on voting procedure will be made public.

#### 5. DECLARATION ON LIBERATED EUROPE

We have drawn up and subscribed to a Declaration on Liberated Europe. This Declaration provides for concerting the policies of the three Powers and for joint action by them in meeting the political and economic problems of Liberated Europe in accordance with democratic principles. The text of the Declaration is as follows:

The Premier of the U.S.S.R., the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and the President of the United States of America have consulted with each other in the common interests of the peoples of their countries, and those of Liberated Europe. They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in Liberated Europe the policies of their three Governments in assisting the peoples of Europe liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany, and the people of the former Axis satellite States to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems.

The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice.

This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter—the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live—the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the aggressor nations.

To foster the conditions in which the liberated peoples may exercise these rights, the three Governments will jointly assist the people in any

European liberated State or former Axis satellite State in Europe where, in their judgment, conditions require:

- (a) to establish conditions of peace;
- (b) to carry out emergency measures for the relief of distressed people;
- (c) to form interim Governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of Governments responsive to the will of the people; and
- (d) to facilitate where necessary the holding of such elections.

The three Governments will consult the other United Nations and provisional authority or other Governments in Europe when matters of direct interest to themselves are under consideration.

When, in the opinion of the three Governments, conditions in any European liberated State or any former Axis satellite State in Europe make such action necessary, they will immediately consult together on the measures necessary to discharge the joint responsibilities set forth in this Declaration.

By this Declaration we re-affirm our faith in the principles of the Atlantic Charter, our pledge in the Declaration by the United Nations, and our determination to build in co-operation with other peace-loving nations a world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom, and the general well-being of all mankind.

In issuing this Declaration the three Powers express the hope that the Provisional Government of the French Republic may be associated with themselves in the procedure suggested.

## 6. POLAND

We came to the Crimea Conference resolved to settle our differences about Poland. We discussed fully all aspects of the question. We re-affirmed our common desire to see established a strong, free, independent, and democratic Poland. As a result of our discussion we have agreed on the conditions in which a new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity may be formed in such a manner as to command recognition by the three major Powers. The agreement reached is as follows:

A new situation has been created in Poland as a result of her complete liberation by the Red Army.

This calls for the establishment of a Polish Provisional Government which can be more broadly based than was possible before the recent liberation of western Poland. The provisional Government which is now functioning in Poland should, therefore, be re-organized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new Government should then be called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity.

Mr. Molotov, Mr. Harriman, and Sir A. Clark Kerr are authorized as a Commission to consult in the first instance in Moscow with members of the present Provisional Government and with other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad, with a view to the re-organization of the present Government along the above lines.

This Polish Provisional Government of National Unity shall be pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the

basis of universal suffrage and the secret ballot. In these elections all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates.

When a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity has been properly formed in conformity with the above, the Government of the U.S.S.R., which now maintains diplomatic relations with the present Provisional Government of Poland, and the Government of the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States will establish diplomatic relations with the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, and will exchange Ambassadors by whose reports the respective Governments will be kept informed about the situation in Poland.

The three heads of Government consider that the eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon Line, with digressions from it in some regions of five to eight kilometres in favour of Poland. They recognize that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west. They feel that the opinion of the new Polish Provisional Government of National Unity should be sought in due course on the extent of these accessions, and that the final delimitations of the western frontier of Poland should thereafter await the peace conference.

#### 7. YUGOSLAVIA

We have agreed to recommend to Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasitch that the agreement between them should be put into effect immediately, and that a new Government should be formed on the basis of that agreement. We also recommend that as soon as the new Government has been formed it should declare that:

(1) The Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (*Avnoji*) should be extended to include members of the last Yugoslav Parliament (*Skupshтина*) who have not compromised themselves by collaboration with the enemy, thus forming a body to be known as a temporary Parliament, and

(2) Legislative Acts passed by the Assembly of National Liberation will be subject to subsequent ratification by a Constituent Assembly.

There was also a general review of other Balkan questions.

#### 8. MEETINGS OF FOREIGN SECRETARIES

Throughout the Conference, besides the daily meetings of the heads of Governments and the Foreign Secretaries, separate meetings of the three Foreign Secretaries and their advisers have also been held daily.

These meetings have proved of the utmost value, and the Conference agreed that permanent machinery should be set up for regular consultation between the three Foreign Secretaries. They will, therefore, meet as often as may be necessary, probably about every three or four months. These meetings will be held in rotation in the three capitals, the first meeting being held in London after the United Nations Conference on World Organizations.

#### 9. UNITY FOR PEACE AS FOR WAR

Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of

purpose and of action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to the people of the world.

Only with continuing and growing co-operation and understanding among our three countries and among all the peace-loving nations can the highest aspiration of humanity be realized—a secure and lasting peace which will, in the words of the Atlantic Charter, “afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.”

It is considered that victory in this war and the establishment of the proposed International Organization will provide the greatest opportunity in all to create in the years to come the essential conditions of such a peace.

(Signed) WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

J. V. STALIN.

## XII. SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*June 26, 1945*

WE, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

and for these ends

to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the City of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

## CHAPTER I. PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

*Article 1*

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

*Article 2*

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following principles:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members.
2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.
3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.
5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.
6. The Organization shall ensure that States which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.
7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit

such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

## CHAPTER II. MEMBERSHIP

### *Article 3*

The original members of the United Nations shall be the states which, having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

### *Article 4*

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

### *Article 5*

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

### *Article 6*

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

## CHAPTER III. ORGANS

### *Article 7*

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

### *Article 8*

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

CHAPTER IV. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—COMPOSITION

*Article 9*

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

*Article 10*

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

*Article 11*

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph two, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or to the Security Council or to both. Any such question, on which action is necessary, shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

*Article 12*

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendation with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

*Article 13*

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

(a) Promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

(b) Promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

*Article 14*

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

*Article 15*

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

*Article 16*

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

*Article 17*

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.



## VOTING

*Article 18*

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system, and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

*Article 19*

A Member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

## PROCEDURE

*Article 20*

The General Assembly shall meet in regular annual sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

*Article 21*

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

*Article 22*

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

## CHAPTER V. THE SECURITY COUNCIL—COMPOSITION

*Article 23*

1. The Security Council shall consist of 11 Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

## FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

### *Article 24*

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII.

3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

### *Article 25*

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

### *Article 26*

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating, with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

## VOTING

### *Article 27*

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

## PROCEDURE

### *Article 28*

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representative.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

### *Article 29*

The Security Council may establish subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

### *Article 30*

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

### *Article 31*

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

### *Article 32*

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute.

The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

## CHAPTER VI. PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

### *Article 33*

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

*Article 34*

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

*Article 35*

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34 to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party, if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

*Article 36*

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

*Article 37*

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

*Article 38*

Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 33-37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

CHAPTER VII. ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THREATS TO THE PEACE,  
BREACHES OF THE PEACE, AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION*Article 39*

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

*Article 40*

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

*Article 41*

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

*Article 42*

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

*Article 43*

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the numbers and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by

the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

*Article 44*

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that member, if the member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

*Article 45*

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43 by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

*Article 46*

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

*Article 47*

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

*Article 48*

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

*Article 49*

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

*Article 50*

If preventive or enforcement measures against any State are taken by the Security Council, any other State, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures, shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

*Article 51*

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

## CHAPTER VIII. REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

*Article 52*

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

*Article 53*

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangements, or by

regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy State, as defined in Paragraph 2 of this Article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy State as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

#### *Article 54*

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

### CHAPTER IX. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

#### *Article 55*

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

(a) Higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

(b) solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

#### *Article 56*

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

#### *Article 57*

1. The various specialized agencies, established by inter-governmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

#### *Article 58*

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialized agencies.



*Article 59*

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

*Article 60*

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the powers set forth in Chapter X.

## CHAPTER X. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL—COMPOSITION

*Article 61*

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of 18 Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election, 18 members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen, the term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and of six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

## FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

*Article 62*

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international, economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

*Article 63*

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with the recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

*Article 64*

1. The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

2. It may communicate its observations on these reports to the General Assembly.

*Article 65*

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

*Article 66*

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

VOTING

*Article 67*

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

*Article 68*

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

*Article 69*

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

*Article 70*

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

*Article 71*

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence.

Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

*Article 72*

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on request of a majority of its members.

## CHAPTER XI. DECLARATION REGARDING NON-SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

*Article 73*

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and to this end:

- (a) To ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- (b) To develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- (c) To further international peace and security;
- (d) To promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

- (e) To transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

#### *Article 74*

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good neighbourliness due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic and commercial matters.

### CHAPTER XII. INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

#### *Article 75*

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as Trust Territories.

#### *Article 76*

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- (a) To further international peace and security;
- (b) To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- (c) To encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- (d) To ensure equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

#### *Article 77*

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- (a) Territories now held under mandate;
- (b) Territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and
- (c) Territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

#### *Article 78*

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

#### *Article 79*

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

#### *Article 80*

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

#### *Article 81*

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

#### *Article 82*

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

#### *Article 83*

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

#### *Article 84*

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

#### *Article 85*

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

### CHAPTER XIII. THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL—COMPOSITION

#### *Article 86*

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- (a) Those Members administering trust territories;
- (b) Such of those members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
- (c) As many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

### FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

#### *Article 87*

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- (a) Consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- (b) Accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;

- (c) Provide for periodic visits to the respective Trust Territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- (d) Take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

*Article 88*

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a *questionnaire* on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such a *questionnaire*.

VOTING

*Article 89*

- 1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
- 2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

*Article 90*

- 1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules and procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
- 2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

*Article 91*

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

CHAPTER XIV. THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

*Article 92*

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute, which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

*Article 93*

- 1. All Members of the United Nations are *ipso facto* parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.
- 2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

*Article 94*

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

*Article 95*

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

*Article 96*

1. The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

## CHAPTER XV. THE SECRETARIAT

*Article 97*

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

*Article 98*

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

*Article 99*

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

*Article 100*

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials, responsible only to the Organization.



2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

*Article 101*

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staffs shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

CHAPTER XVI. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

*Article 102*

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

*Article 103*

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

*Article 104*

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes.

*Article 105*

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

## CHAPTER XVII. TRANSITIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

*Article 106*

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nations Declaration, signed at Moscow, 30th October, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

*Article 107*

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

## CHAPTER XVIII. AMENDMENTS

*Article 108*

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

*Article 109*

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

## CHAPTER XIX. RATIFICATION AND SIGNATURE

*Article 110*

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory States.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

### *Article III*

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

In faith whereof the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations\* have signed the present Charter.

Done at the City of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

\**Note.*—Representatives of the following Governments signed the Charter:

China.	Honduras.
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.	India.
United Kingdom of Great Britain	Iran.
and Northern Ireland.	Iraq.
France.	Lebanon.
Argentina.	Liberia.
Australia.	Luxembourg.
Belgium.	Mexico.
Bolivia.	Netherlands.
Brazil.	New Zealand.
Byelo-Russian S.S.R.	Nicaragua.
Canada.	Norway.
Chile	Panama.
Colombia.	Paraguay.
Costa Rica.	Peru.
Cuba.	Philippine Commonwealth.
Czechoslovakia.	Saudi Arabia.
Denmark.	Syria.
Dominican Republic.	Turkey.
Ecuador.	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Egypt.	Union of South Africa.
El Salvador.	Uruguay.
Ethiopia.	Venezuela.
Greece.	Yugoslavia.
Guatemala.	United States of America.
Haiti.	

## XIII. POTSDAM DECLARATIONS

*August 2, 1945**Report on the Tripartite Conference of Berlin.*

## I

On July 17, 1945, the President of the United States of America, Harry S. Truman, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Generalissimo J. V. Stalin, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Winston S. Churchill, together with Mr. Clement R. Attlee, met in the Tripartite Conference of Berlin.

They were accompanied by the Foreign Secretaries of the three Governments, Mr. James F. Byrnes, Mr. V. M. Molotov, and Mr. Anthony Eden, the Chiefs of Staff, and other advisers.

There were nine meetings between July 17 and July 25. The Conference was then interrupted for two days while the results of the British General Election were being declared.

On July 28 Mr. Attlee returned to the Conference as Prime Minister, accompanied by the new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ernest Bevin. Four days of further discussion then took place. During the course of the Conference there were regular meetings of the Heads of the three Governments accompanied by the Foreign Secretaries, and also of the Foreign Secretaries alone. Committees appointed by the Foreign Secretaries for preliminary consideration of questions before the Conference also met daily.

The meetings of the Conference were held at the Cecilienhof near Potsdam. The Conference ended on August 2, 1945.

Important decisions and agreements were reached. Views were exchanged on a number of other questions and consideration of these matters will be continued by the Council of Foreign Ministers established by the Conference.

President Truman, Generalissimo Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee leave this Conference, which has strengthened the ties between the three Governments and extended the scope of their collaboration and understanding, with renewed confidence that their Governments and peoples, together with the other United Nations, will ensure the creation of a just and enduring peace.

## II. ESTABLISHMENT OF A COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS

The Conference reached an agreement for the establishment of a Council of Foreign Ministers representing the five principal Powers to continue the necessary preparatory work for the peace settlements and to take up other matters which from time to time may be referred to the Council by agreement of the Governments participating in the Council.

The text of the agreement for the establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers is as follows:

'(1) There shall be established a Council composed of the Foreign Ministers of the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, France and the United States.

'(2) (i) The Council shall normally meet in London, which shall be the permanent seat of the joint Secretariat which the Council will form. Each of the Foreign Ministers will be accompanied by a high-ranking Deputy, duly authorized to carry on the work of the Council in the absence of his Foreign Minister, and by a small staff of technical advisers.

'(ii) The first meeting of the Council shall be held in London not later than September 1, 1945. Meetings may be held by common agreement in other capitals as may be agreed from time to time.

'(3) (i) As its immediate important task, the Council shall be authorized to draw up, with a view to their submission to the United Nations, treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, and to propose settlements of territorial questions outstanding on the termination of the war in Europe. The Council shall be utilized for the preparation of a peace settlement for Germany to be accepted by the Government of Germany when a Government adequate for the purpose is established.

'(ii) For the discharge of each of these tasks the Council will be composed of the members representing those States which were signatory to the terms of surrender imposed upon the enemy State concerned. For the purpose of the peace settlement for Italy, France shall be regarded as a signatory to the terms of surrender for Italy. Other members will be invited to participate when matters directly concerning them are under discussion.

'(iii) Other matters may from time to time be referred to the Council by agreement between the member Governments.

'(4) (i) Whenever the Council is considering a question of direct interest to a State not represented thereon, such State should be invited to send representatives to participate in the discussion and study of that question.

'(ii) The Council may adapt its procedure to the particular problem under consideration. In some cases it may hold its own preliminary discussions prior to the participation of other interested States. In other cases the Council may convoke a formal conference of the State chiefly interested in seeking a solution of the particular problem.'

In accordance with the decision of the Conference the three Governments have each addressed an identical invitation to the Governments of China and France to adopt this text and to join in establishing the Council.

\* \* \* \* \*

The establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers for the specific purposes named in the text will be without prejudice to the agreement of the Crimea Conference that there should be periodic consultation among the Foreign Secretaries of the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom.

The Conference also considered the position of the European Advisory Commission in the light of the agreement to establish the Council of Foreign Ministers. It was noted with satisfaction that the Commission had ably discharged its principal task by the recommendations that it had furnished for the terms of Germany's unconditional surrender, for the zones of occupation in Germany and Austria, and for the inter-Allied control machinery in those countries.

It was felt that further work of a detailed character for the co-ordination of Allied policy for the control of Germany and Austria would in future fall within the competence of the Allied Control Council at Berlin and the Allied Commission at Vienna. Accordingly it was agreed to recommend that the European Advisory Commission be dissolved.

### III. GERMANY

The Allied armies are in occupation of the whole of Germany, and the German people have begun to atone for the terrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom, in the hour of their success, they openly approved and blindly obeyed.

Agreement has been reached at this Conference on the political and economic principles of a co-ordinated Allied policy toward defeated Germany during the period of Allied control.

The purpose of this agreement is to carry out the Crimea declaration on Germany. German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world.

It is not the intention of the Allies to destroy or enslave the German people. It is the intention of the Allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world.

\* \* \* \* \*

The text of the agreement is as follows:

*The Political and Economic Principles to govern the Treatment of Germany in the Initial Control Period*

#### (A) Political Principles

1. In accordance with the Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany, supreme authority in Germany is exercised on instructions from their respective Governments, by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the French Republic, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany, as a whole, in their capacity as members of the Control Council.

2. So far as is practicable, there shall be uniformity of treatment of the German population throughout Germany.

3. The purposes of the occupation of Germany by which the Control Council shall be guided are:

(i) The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production. To these ends:

(a) All German land, naval and air forces, the S.S., S.A., S.D., and Gestapo, with all their organizations, staffs and institutions, including the General Staff, the Officers' Corps, Reserve Corps, military schools, war veterans' organizations and all other military and quasi-military organizations, together with all clubs and associations which serve to

keep alive the military tradition in Germany, shall be completely and finally abolished in such manner as permanently to prevent the revival or re-organization of German militarism and Nazism;

(b) All arms, ammunition and implements of war and all specialized facilities for their production shall be held at the disposal of the Allies or destroyed. The maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war shall be prevented.

(ii) To convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves, since their own ruthless warfare and the fanatical Nazi resistance have destroyed German economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable.

(iii) To destroy the National Socialist Party and its affiliated and supervised organizations, to dissolve all Nazi institutions, to ensure that they are not revived in any form, and to prevent all Nazi and militarist activity or propaganda.

(iv) To prepare for the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis and for eventual peaceful co-operation in international life by Germany.

4. All Nazi laws which provided the basis of the Hitler régime or established discrimination on grounds of race, creed, or political opinion shall be abolished. No such discriminations, whether legal, administrative or otherwise, shall be tolerated.

5. War criminals and those who have participated in planning or carrying out Nazi enterprises involving or resulting in atrocities or war crimes shall be arrested and brought to judgment. Nazi leaders, influential Nazi supporters and high officials of Nazi organizations and institutions and any other persons dangerous to the occupation or its objectives shall be arrested and interned.

6. All members of the Nazi party who have been more than nominal participants in its activities and all other persons hostile to Allied purposes shall be removed from public and semi-public office, and from positions of responsibility in important private undertakings. Such persons shall be replaced by persons who, by their political and moral qualities, are deemed capable of assisting in developing genuine democratic institutions in Germany.

7. German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.

8. The judicial system will be re-organized in accordance with the principles of democracy, of justice under law, and of equal rights for all citizens without distinction of race, nationality or religion.

\* \* \* \* \*

9. The administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility.

To this end:

(i) Local self-government shall be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and in particular through elective councils as

rapidly as is consistent with military security and the purposes of military occupation;

(ii) All democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany;

(iii) Representative and elective principles shall be introduced into regional, provincial and state (land) administration as rapidly as may be justified by the successful application of these principles in local self-government;

(iv) For the time being no central German government shall be established. Notwithstanding this, however, certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by State Secretaries, shall be established, particularly in the fields of finance, transport, communications, foreign trade and industry. Such departments will act under the direction of the Control Council.

10. Subject to the necessity for maintaining military security, freedom of speech, Press and religion shall be permitted, and religious institutions shall be respected. Subject likewise to the maintenance of military security the formation of free trade unions shall be permitted.

*(B) Economic Principles*

11. In order to eliminate Germany's war potential, the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war, as well as all types of aircraft and sea-going ships, shall be prohibited and prevented. Production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that are directly necessary to a war economy shall be rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved post-war peacetime needs to meet the objectives stated in Para. 15.

Productive capacity not needed for permitted production shall be removed in accordance with the reparations plan recommended by the Allied Commission on reparations and approved by the Governments concerned, or if not removed shall be destroyed.

12. At the earliest practicable date the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements.

13. In organizing the German economy, primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries.

14. During the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. To this end common policies shall be established in regard to:

- (a) mining and industrial production and allocation;
- (b) agriculture, forestry and fishing;
- (c) wages, prices and rationing;
- (d) import and export programmes for Germany as a whole;
- (e) currency and banking, central taxation and customs;
- (f) reparation and removal of industrial war potential;
- (g) transportation and communications.



In applying these policies account shall be taken, where appropriate, of varying local conditions.

15. Allied controls shall be imposed upon the German economy, but only to the extent necessary:

(a) to carry out programmes of industrial disarmament and demilitarization, of reparations, and of approved exports and imports.

(b) to assure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to meet the needs of the occupying forces and displaced persons in Germany and essential to maintain in Germany average living standards not exceeding the average of the standards of living of European countries. (European countries means all European countries excluding the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.)

(c) To ensure in the manner determined by the Control Council the equitable distribution of essential commodities between the several zones so as to produce a balanced economy throughout Germany and reduce the need for imports.

(d) To control German industry and all economic and financial international transactions, including exports and imports, with the aim of preventing Germany from developing a war potential and of achieving the other objectives named herein.

(e) To control all German public or private scientific bodies, research and experimental institutions, laboratories, etc., connected with economic activities.

16. In the imposition and maintenance of economic controls, established by the Control Council, German administrative machinery shall be created and the German authorities shall be required to the fullest extent practicable to proclaim and assume administration of such controls. Thus it should be brought home to the German people that the responsibility for the administration of such controls and any breakdown in these controls will rest with themselves. Any German controls which may run counter to the objectives of occupation will be prohibited.

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Measures shall be promptly taken:

(a) to effect essential repair of transport;

(b) to enlarge coal production;

(c) to maximize agricultural output;

(d) to effect emergency repair of housing and essential utilities.

18. Appropriate steps shall be taken by the Control Council to exercise control and the power of disposition over German-owned external assets not already under the control of the United Nations which have taken part in the war against Germany.

19. Payment of Reparations should leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance. In working out the economic balance of Germany the necessary means must be provided to pay for imports approved by the Control Council in Germany. The proceeds of exports from current production and stocks shall be available in the first place for payment for such imports.

The above clause will not apply to the equipment and products referred to in paragraph 4 (a) and 4 (b) of the Reparations Agreement.

#### IV. REPARATIONS FROM GERMANY

In accordance with the Crimea decision that Germany be compelled to compensate to the greatest possible extent for the loss and suffering that she has caused to the United Nations and for which the German people cannot escape responsibility, the following agreement on reparations was reached:

1. Reparation claims of the U.S.S.R. shall be met by removals from the zone of Germany occupied by the U.S.S.R. and from appropriate German external assets.

2. The U.S.S.R. undertakes to settle the reparation claims of Poland from its own share of reparations.

3. The reparation claims of the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries entitled to reparations shall be met from the Western Zones and from appropriate German external assets.

4. In addition to the reparations to be taken by the U.S.S.R. from its own zone of occupation, the U.S.S.R. shall receive additionally from the Western Zones:

(a) 15 per cent. of such usable and complete industrial capital equipment, in the first place from the metallurgical, chemical and machine manufacturing industries, as is unnecessary for the German peace economy and should be removed from the Western Zones of Germany, in exchange for an equivalent value of food, coal, potash, zinc, timber, clay products, petroleum products, and such other commodities as may be agreed upon.

(b) 10 per cent. of such industrial capital equipment as is unnecessary for the German peace economy and should be removed from the Western Zones, to be transferred to the Soviet Government on reparations account without payment or exchange of any kind in return.

Removals of equipment as provided in (a) and (b) above shall be made simultaneously.

\* \* \* \* \*

5. The amount of equipment to be removed from the Western Zones on account of reparations must be determined within six months from now at the latest.

6. Removals of industrial capital equipment shall begin as soon as possible and shall be completed within two years from the determination specified in paragraph 5. The delivery of products covered by 4 (a) above shall begin as soon as possible and shall be made by the U.S.S.R. in agreed instalments within five years of the date hereof.

The determination of the amount and character of the industrial capital equipment unnecessary for the German peace economy and therefore available for reparation shall be made by the Control Council under policies fixed by the Allied Commission on Reparations, with the participation of France, subject to the final approval of the Zone Commander in the Zone from which the equipment is to be removed.

7. Prior to the fixing of the total amount of equipment subject to removal, advance deliveries shall be made in respect of such equipment as will be determined to be eligible for delivery in accordance with the procedure set forth in the last sentence of paragraph 6.

8. The Soviet Government renounces all claims in respect of reparations to shares of German enterprises which are located in the Western Zones of occupation in Germany as well as to German foreign assets in all countries except those specified in paragraph 9 below.

9. The Governments of the United Kingdom and United States of America renounce their claims in respect of reparations to shares of German enterprises which are located in the Eastern Zone of occupation in Germany, as well as to German foreign assets in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Austria.

10. The Soviet Government makes no claims to gold captured by the Allied troops in Germany.

#### V. DISPOSAL OF THE GERMAN NAVY AND MERCHANT MARINE

The Conference agreed in principle upon arrangements for the use and disposal of the surrendered German fleet and merchant ships. It was decided that the three Governments would appoint experts to work out together detailed plans to give effect to the agreed principles. A further joint statement will be published simultaneously by the three Governments in due course.

#### VI. CITY OF KOENIGSBERG AND THE ADJACENT AREA

The Conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government that, pending the final determination of territorial questions at the peace settlement, the section of the western frontier of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which is adjacent to the Baltic Sea should pass from a point on the eastern shore of the Bay of Danzig to the east, north of Braunsberg-Goldap to the meeting point of the frontiers of Lithuania, the Polish Republic and East Prussia.

The Conference has agreed in principle to the proposal of the Soviet Government concerning the ultimate transfer to the Soviet Union of the city of Koenigsberg and the area adjacent to it as described above, subject to expert examination of the actual frontier.

The President of the United States and the British Prime Minister have declared that they will support the proposal of the Conference at the forthcoming peace settlement.

#### VII. WAR CRIMINALS

The three Governments have taken note of the discussions which have been proceeding in recent weeks in London between British, United States, Soviet and French representatives with a view to reaching agreement on the methods of trial of those major war criminals whose crimes under the Moscow Declaration of October, 1943, have no particular geographical localization.

The three Governments reaffirm their intention to bring these criminals to swift and sure justice. They hope that the negotiations in London

will result in speedy agreement being reached for this purpose, and they regard it as a matter of great importance that the trial of these major criminals should begin at the earliest possible date. The first list of defendants will be published before September 1.

#### VIII. AUSTRIA

The Conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government on the extension of the authority of the Austrian Provisional Government to all of Austria.

The three Governments agreed that they were prepared to examine this question after the entry of the British and American forces into the city of Vienna.

#### IX. POLAND

The Conference considered questions relating to the Polish Provisional Government and the western boundary of Poland.

(A) On the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity they defined their attitude in the following statement:

We have taken note with pleasure of the agreement reached among representative Poles from Poland and abroad which has made possible the formation, in accordance with the decisions reached at the Crimea Conference, of a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity recognized by the three Powers. The establishment by the British and United States Governments of diplomatic relations with the Polish Provisional Government has resulted in the withdrawal of their recognition from the former Polish Government in London, which no longer exists.

The British and United States Governments have taken measures to protect the interest of the Polish Provisional Government as the recognized Government of the Polish State in the property belonging to the Polish State located in their territories and under their control, whatever the form of this property may be.

They have further taken measures to prevent alienation to third parties of such property. All proper facilities will be given to the Polish Provisional Government for the exercise of the ordinary legal remedies for the recovery of any property belonging to the Polish State which may have been wrongfully alienated.

The Three Powers are anxious to assist the Polish Provisional Government in facilitating the return to Poland as soon as practicable of all Poles abroad who wish to go, including members of the Polish Armed Forces and the Merchant Marine. They expect that those Poles who return home shall be accorded personal and property rights on the same basis as all Polish citizens.

The Three Powers note that the Polish Provisional Government, in accordance with the decisions of the Crimea Conference, has agreed to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot in which all democratic and anti-Nazi parties shall have the right to take part and to put forward candidates, and that representatives of the Allied Press shall enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Poland before and during the elections.

(B) The following agreement was reached on the western frontier of Poland:

In conformity with the agreement on Poland reached at the Crimea Conference the three Heads of Government have sought the opinion of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in regard to the accession of territory in the north and west, which Poland should receive.

The President of the National Council of Poland and members of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity have been received at the Conference and have fully presented their views. The three Heads of Government reaffirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement.

The three Heads of Government agree that, pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier, the former German territories east of a line running from the Baltic Sea immediately west of Swinemunde, and thence along the Oder River to the confluence of the western Neisse River and along the western Neisse to the Czechoslovak frontier, including that portion of East Prussia not placed under the administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with the understanding reached at this conference and including the area of the former free city of Danzig, shall be under the administration of the Polish State and for such purposes should not be considered as part of the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany.

#### X. CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES AND ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

The Conference agreed upon the following statement of common policy for establishing as soon as possible the conditions of lasting peace after victory in Europe.

The Three Governments consider it desirable that the present anomalous position of Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, and Rumania should be terminated by the conclusion of Peace Treaties. They trust that the other interested Allied Governments will share these views.

For their part the Three Governments have included the preparation of a Peace Treaty for Italy as the first among the immediate important tasks to be undertaken by the new Council of Foreign Ministers. Italy was the first of the Axis Powers to break with Germany, to whose defeat she has made a material contribution, and has now joined with the Allies in the struggle against Japan.

Italy has freed herself from the Fascist régime and is making good progress towards the re-establishment of a democratic Government and institutions. The conclusion of such a Peace Treaty with a recognized and democratic Italian Government will make it possible for the Three Governments to fulfil their desire to support an application from Italy for membership of the United Nations.

The Three Governments have also charged the Council of Foreign Ministers with the task of preparing Peace Treaties for Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania.

The conclusion of Peace Treaties with recognized democratic Governments in these States will also enable the Three Governments to support applications from them for membership of the United Nations. The Three Governments agree to examine each separately in the near future, in the

light of the conditions then prevailing, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary to the extent possible prior to the conclusion of peace treaties with those countries.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Three Governments have no doubt that, in view of the changed conditions resulting from the termination of the war in Europe, representatives of the Allied Press will enjoy full freedom to report to the world upon developments in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland.

As regards the admission of other States into the United Nations Organization, Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations declares that:

'1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving States who accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the organization, are able and willing to carry out those obligations.

'2. The admission of any such State to membership in the United Nations will be effective by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.'

The Three Governments, so far as they are concerned, will support applications for membership from those States which have remained neutral during the war and which fulfil the qualifications set out above.

The Three Governments feel bound, however, to make it clear that they for their part would not favour the application for membership put forward by the present Spanish Government, which, having been founded with the support of the Axis Powers, does not, in view of its origins, its nature, its record and its close association with the aggressor States, possess the qualifications necessary to justify such membership.

## XI. TERRITORIAL TRUSTEESHIP

The Conference examined a proposal by the Soviet Government concerning trusteeship territories as defined in the decision of the Crimea Conference and in the Charter of the United Nations Organization.

After an exchange of views on this question it was decided that the disposition of any former Italian territories was one to be decided in connection with the preparation of a peace treaty with Italy and that the question of Italian territory would be considered by the September Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

## XII. REVISED ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION PROCEDURE IN RUMANIA, BULGARIA AND HUNGARY

The Three Governments took note that the Soviet representatives on the Allied Control Commissions in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary have communicated to their United Kingdom and United States colleagues proposals for improving the work of the Control Commissions, now that hostilities in Europe have ceased.

The Three Governments agreed that the revision of the procedures of the Allied Control Commissions in these countries would now be undertaken, taking into account the interests and responsibilities of the Three Governments which together presented the terms of armistice to the respective countries, and accepting as a basis, the agreed proposals.

## XIII. ORDERLY TRANSFERS OF GERMAN POPULATIONS

The Conference reached the following agreement on the removal of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

The Three Governments, having considered the question in all its aspects, recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner.

Since the influx of a large number of Germans into Germany would increase the burden already resting on the occupying authorities, they consider that the Allied Control Council in Germany should in the first instance examine the problem with special regard to the question of the equitable distribution of these Germans among the several zones of occupation.

They are accordingly instructing their respective representatives on the Control Council to report to their Governments as soon as possible the extent to which such persons have already entered Germany from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and to submit an estimate of the time and rate at which further transfers could be carried out, having regard to the present situation in Germany.

The Czechoslovak Government, the Polish Provisional Government and the Control Council in Hungary are at the same time being informed of the above, and are being requested meanwhile to suspend further expulsions pending the examination by the Governments concerned of the report from their representatives on the Control Council.

## XIV. MILITARY TALKS

During the Conference there were meetings between the Chiefs of Staff of the three Governments on military matters of common interest.

*Approved:*

J. V. STALIN.  
HARRY S. TRUMAN.  
C. R. ATTLEE.

BERLIN.

*August 2, 1945.*

## LIST OF DELEGATIONS

*For the United States*

The President, Mr. Harry S. Truman; The Secretary of State, Mr. James F. Byrnes; Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, U.S.N., Chief of Staff to the President; Joseph E. Davies, Special Ambassador; Mr. Edwin Pauley, Special Ambassador; Mr. Robert D. Murphy, Political Adviser to the C.-in-C., U.S. Zone in Germany; Mr. W. Averell Harriman, Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.; General of the Army George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, United States Army; Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, U.S.N. Chief of Naval Operations and Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Fleet; General of the Army H. H. Arnold, U.S. Army Air Forces; Lieut.-General Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General, Army Service Forces; Vice-Admiral Emery S. Land, War Shipping Administrator; Mr. William L. Clayton,

Assistant Secretary of State; Mr. James C. Dunn, Assistant Secretary of State; Mr. Ben Cohen, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State; Mr. H. Freeman Matthews, Director of European Affairs, Department of State; Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State; together with political, military and technical advisers.

*For the United Kingdom*

The Prime Minister, Mr. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.; Mr. C. R. Attlee, M.P.; The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Anthony Eden, M.P.; Mr. Ernest Bevin, M.P.; Lord Leathers, Minister of War Transport; Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, H.M. Ambassador at Moscow; Sir Walter Monckton, Head of the U.K. Delegation to Moscow Reparations Commission; Sir William Strang, Political Adviser to the Commander-in-Chief, British Zone in Germany; Sir Edward Bridges, Secretary of the Cabinet; Field-Marshal Sir Alan Brooke, Chief of the Imperial Staff; Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Charles F. A. Portal, Chief of the Air Staff; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Andrew Cunningham, First Sea Lord; General Sir Hastings Ismay, Chief of Staff to the Minister of Defence; Field-Marshal Sir Harold Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander, Mediterranean Theatre; Field-Marshal Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, Head of the British Joint Staff Mission at Washington; and other advisers.

*For the U.S.S.R.*

Generalissimo J. V. Stalin; Mr. V. M. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.; Admiral of the Fleet N. G. Kuznetsov, People's Commissar of the Navy of the U.S.S.R.; Mr. A. I. Antonov, Chief of Staff of the Red Army; Mr. A. Y. Vyshinski, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs; Mr. S. I. Kavtaradze, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs; Mr. I. M. Maisky, Deputy People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs; Admiral S. G. Kucherov, Chief of Naval Staff; Mr. F. T. Gousev, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain; Mr. A. A. Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.A.; Mr. K. V. Novikov, Member of the Board, Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, Head of 2nd European Department; Mr. S. K. Tsarapkin, Member of the Board, Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, Head of U.S.A. Department; Mr. S. P. Kozyrev, Head of 1st European Department, Commissariat of Foreign Affairs; Mr. A. A. Lavrishchev, Head of Balkan Countries Department, Commissariat of Foreign Affairs; Mr. A. A. Sobolev, Head of Political Department, Soviet Military Administration in Germany; Mr. M. Z. Saburov, Assistant Chief of Soviet Military Administration in Germany; Mr. S. A. Golunski, Expert Adviser, Commissariat of Foreign Affairs; as well as political, military and technical staffs.



## XIV

*Agreement by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Government of the United States of America, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic, for*

## THE PROSECUTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE MAJOR WAR CRIMINALS OF THE EUROPEAN AXIS

THE discussions which have been taking place in London between the representatives of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., and the French Republic, concerning the prosecution and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis, have now been completed, and entire agreement has been reached.

Those taking part in the discussions included:

*For the U.S.S.R.*

I. T. Nikitchenko, Vice-President of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R., and Professor Trainin.

*For the United Kingdom*

The Lord Chancellor, Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, Sir Thomas Barnes, Mr. G. D. Roberts, K.C., and Mr. R. A. Clyde.

*For the United States*

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson.

*For the French Republic*

Robert Falco, Conseiller à la Cour de Cassation, and Professor A. Gros.

On Wednesday, August 8, as the result of these discussions, the representatives of the four Powers signed an agreement establishing an International Military Tribunal before which the major war criminals of the European Axis will be tried. The Agreement is supplemented by a Charter, setting out the constitution of the Tribunal and the principles governing its operation. Below is the text of the Agreement:

Whereas the United Nations have from time to time made declarations of their intention that War Criminals shall be brought to justice;

And whereas the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, on German atrocities in Occupied Europe stated that those German officers and men and members of the Nazi Party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in atrocities and crimes will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free Governments that will be created therein;

And whereas this Declaration was stated to be without prejudice to the case of major criminals whose offences have no particular geographical location and who will be punished by the joint decision of the Governments of the Allies;

Now therefore the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Government of the United States of America, and the Provisional Government of the French Republic (hereinafter called 'the Signatories') acting in the interests of all the United Nations and by their representatives duly authorized thereto have concluded this Agreement.

#### ARTICLE 1

There shall be established after consultation with the Control Council for Germany an International Military Tribunal for the trial of war criminals whose offences have no particular geographical location whether they be accused individually or in their capacity as members of organizations or groups or in both capacities.

#### ARTICLE 2

The constitution, jurisdiction and functions of the International Military Tribunal shall be those set out in the Charter annexed to this Agreement, which Charter shall form an integral part of this Agreement.

#### ARTICLE 3

Each of the Signatories shall take the necessary steps to make available for the investigation of the charges and trial the major war criminals detained by them who are to be tried by the International Military Tribunal. The Signatories shall also use their best endeavours to make available for investigation of the charges against and the trial before the International Military Tribunal such of the major war criminals as are not in the territories of any of the Signatories.

#### ARTICLE 4

Nothing in this Agreement shall prejudice the provisions established by the Moscow Declaration concerning the return of war criminals to the countries where they committed their crimes.

#### ARTICLE 5

Any Government of the United Nations may adhere to this Agreement by notice given through the diplomatic channel to the Government of the United Kingdom, who shall inform the other signatory and adhering Governments of each such adherence.

#### ARTICLE 6

Nothing in this Agreement shall prejudice the jurisdiction or the powers of any national or occupation court established or to be established in any allied territory or in Germany for the trial of war criminals.

#### ARTICLE 7

This Agreement shall come into force on the day of signature and shall remain in force for the period of one year and shall continue thereafter, subject to the right of any Signatory to give, through the diplomatic channel, one month's notice of intention to terminate it. Such termination

shall not prejudice any proceedings already taken or any findings already made in pursuance of this Agreement.

In witness whereof the Undersigned have signed the present Agreement.

Done in quadruplicate in London this 8th day of August, 1945, each in Russian, English and French, and each text to have equal authenticity.

*For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:*

I. NIKITCHENKO.

A. N. TRAININ.

*For the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:*

JOWETT, C.

*For the Government of the United States of America:*

ROBERT H. JACKSON.

*For the Provisional Government of the French Republic:*

ROBERT FALCO.

## II. THE UNITED NATIONS

(Including National Documents)

### ARGENTINE

*Flag:* Blue and white (*war flag:* Three horizontal bands, blue, white, blue, with rising sun on white band).

*President:* General Edelmiro J. Farrell.

*Vice-President:* Colonel Juan D. Perón.

*Minister of the Interior:* Dr. Hortensio Quisano.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Dr. César Ameghino.

*Minister of Finance:* Dr. Armando Antillo.

*Minister of Justice and Public Instruction:* Dr. Antonio Juan Benitez.

*Minister of War:* Colonel Juan D. Perón.

*Minister of the Navy:* Rear-Admiral A. Tessaire.

*Secretary for Air:* Brigadier Bartolomé de la Colina.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Colonel Amaro Avalos.

*Secretary of Industry and Commerce:* Lieut.-Colonel Mariano Abarca (ad int.)

*Minister of Public Works:* General Juan Pistarini.

*Secretary of Labour and Social Provision:* Colonel Juan D. Perón.

*Argentine Embassy in London:* 9 Wilton Crescent, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 2108.

*Ambassador:* Señor Dr. Don Miguel Angel Carcano.

*First Counsellor:* Señor Don Ricardo Siri.

*British Ambassador to Argentine:* Sir David Kelly.

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### PERIODICALS:

*La Nacion.*

*La Prensa.*

*El Mundo.*

## BELGIUM

*Flag:* Three vertical bands, black, yellow, red.

*Sovereign:* King Leopold III, born November 3, 1901. Succeeded his father, King Albert, on February 23, 1934. Married on November 4, 1926, Princess Astrid of Sweden, who died August 29, 1935. Remarried on September 11, 1941, to Mary Lillian Baels, created Princesse de Réthy.

*Children:* Princesse Josephine Charlotte, born October 11, 1927. Prince Baudouin, born September 7, 1930. Duke of Brabant. Prince Albert, born June 6, 1934. Prince of Liège. Of the second marriage: Philippe, Prince de Réthy, born July 18, 1942.

*Brother of the King:* Prince Regent Charles, Comte de Flandres, born October 10, 1903.

*Sister of the King:* Princesse Marie-José, born August 4, 1906. Married on January 8, 1930, Crown Prince Umberto of Italy.

*Belgian Ambassador in London:* Baron E. de Cartier de Marchienne (1927).

*Embassy:* 103 Eaton Square, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 9211.

*British Ambassador to Belgium:* Sir Hugh Knatchbull Hugessen.

*Counsellor:* Francis Aveling.

*Belgian Government:*

*Prime Minister:* Achille van Acker.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs, Deputy Prime Minister:* P. H. Spaak.

*Minister of Finance:* Frans de Voghel.

*Minister of the Interior:* Adolphe van Glabbeke.

*Minister of Work and Social Provision:* Léon Elie Troclet.

*Minister of Public Instruction:* M. Auguste Buisseret.

*Minister for the Colonies:* Senator Robert Godding.

*Minister for War Victims:* Baron Adrien van den Branden de Reeth.

*Minister of Justice:* Marcel Gregoire.

*Minister of Food:* M. Edgard Lalmand.

*Minister of Public Health:* M. Marteaux.

*Minister for Communications:* M. Rongvaux.

*Minister for Economic Affairs:* M. de Smael Albert.

*Minister of Public Works:* M. Vos Herman.

*Minister of Agriculture:* M. René Lefèvre.

*Minister of National Defence:* M. Léo Mundeleer.

*Minister of Supplies:* M. Paul Kronacker.

*Minister of War Damage:* M. Jacques Basyn.

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### M. VAN ACKER'S STATEMENT ON HIS POLICY AFTER THE MINISTERIAL CHANGES

THE political crisis which has troubled the country for the past three months has singularly hindered and retarded the necessary reconstruction work. For the Government it is a question of regaining the time lost. Nevertheless, it intends first of all, at the beginning of this statement, to express its wish to proceed with the general election; it will hasten the compiling and revision of the voters' registers; and will propose measures to limit the appeals and to reduce certain delays. It will call upon you, in the first instance, to approve the Bill already drafted, the essential object of which is to deprive unworthy citizens of the right to vote. It would be unjust if those who, during the war, doubted the destiny of Belgium, were now authorized to influence her future.

The indispensable administrative and judicial work will be concluded by the beginning of next March, at which date the general election will take place.

During the few months that are left to us, the Government intends to pursue the aims that it set itself in its ministerial statement of last February, and especially to solve certain problems, as urgent as they are important. First of all, it intends to complete the work of financial purification, too often delayed during the past ten months by the political crises. The Government will take up again the Bill tabled by M. Eyskens, on which considerable majority of the House pronounced favourably, and it counts on getting it adopted during the very first weeks.

The Government is also bent on placing the Budget before the Committees of both Houses at the beginning of November, so that the country may be placed again in financial order. As soon as the debate on the Finance Bills is concluded, the Government will ask the Chambers to go forward with the examination of the various Bills which it expects to submit to them, concerning reparations for war damage to property and persons. Among them will be a Bill concerning the status of the political prisoner.

In spite of the results obtained since February, the resumption of economic life remains conditional upon increased coal production. A determined effort is being made to increase man-power by the employment of German prisoners and by appeals to foreign workers. That effort is going to succeed. It may now be announced that the monthly distribution of household coal will begin in October and that the amount of gas available for the use of the population will be increased.

The results obtained to date permit of an appreciable improvement in the textile field. Beginning with September, materials in comparative abundance and at fixed prices will be made available to persons whose means are less than 36,000 francs (£205) a year. That market will accordingly be continually and progressively enlarged.

Without being able, at present, to promise a complete return to free trade, the Government will endeavour to remove, as quickly as possible, certain restrictions that to-day are making transactions difficult. To that end it expects to relax the regulations for import and export permits, to cancel the regulations decreed during the occupation regarding the policing of trade and to allow free inscriptions in the Commercial Register on production of a certificate of citizenship.

Corresponding with these economic improvements there should be further progress in rationing. In that domain also an effort will be made to secure greater freedom. In September the sale of fish will be entirely unrestricted and it is possible that in October bread will no longer be rationed.

As regards agriculture, the return to liberty and, with it, the removal of regulations at present in force will proceed step by step as circumstances permit.

The Government is firmly resolved to associate more and more closely the working classes in the solution of the great economic and social problems that are engaging its attention. It has faith in the workers' wisdom and it desires the continuation of a close collaboration, which has already given happy results. In particular, it will request the help of the trade unions in fixing the prices that will enable it to establish an index of retail prices.

With respect to Civil Servants, the Government will apply the same principles. In the very near future it will completely revise the scale of salaries of the magistrates, functionaries and employees of the public services. It intends to pay its servants suitably and to require from them, in addition to their hours of work, a perfect professional consciousness.

The Government intends to proceed actively with the administrative purge. This should be concluded at the latest by the general election. Now that Article 115 of the Penal Code has been interpreted, the punishment of economic collaboration (with the enemy) is able to enter a decisive phase. What the country demands is that the main culprits be proceeded against immediately and without faltering. The Government will see to that. This firmness towards the principal guilty persons will be accompanied by care to show indulgence towards those who have committed only small offences. Thus the rules of justice will be observed and, at the same time, the air will be cleared of an element that has weighed heavily upon the activities of the country.

Desirous of contributing to the solution of one of the most serious problems of Belgian political life, the Government will set up, within a

month, an educational committee consisting of representatives of the State schools and of the non-State schools. This committee will be required to put forward, at an early date, general solutions to the questions concerning education, including questions on technical training.

In pursuance of a policy of friendship and close collaboration with the Allies, the Government will ask you very soon to ratify the United Nations Charter prepared at San Francisco. It also intends to claim firmly Belgium's right to secure her part of the reparations that justice will compel defeated Germany to pay to the countries that she has plundered and ruined. It asserts here and now Belgium's right to participate in the exploitation of certain German resources and it intends to leave nothing undone to secure legitimate compensation for the sufferings endured and the sacrifices made by the country.

The Belgian Army will take part in the occupation of Germany. It will be re-organized soon. There is need, also, for it to be modernized in its outlook, its methods, and its organization. The officers and men whom the demands of war have embodied in the Allied armies will immediately rejoin the Belgian military forces, and the troops at present in Ireland will soon return to this country.

The Government will adhere loyally to all the rules of democracy; it also intends to defend it strongly and to stop any attempts at neo-Fascism, from whatever source they may come. It hopes that the opposition will criticise it constructively and control its activities.

Such are the essential tasks that the Government has set itself; such is the spirit in which it will undertake them. The country has need of unity, order, tranquillity, discipline, and work. The Government is conscious of being able to respond to those needs.

## BOLIVIA

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, red, yellow, green.

*President:* Lieut.-Colonel Gualberto Villarroel.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Gustavo Chacon.

*Minister of Government and Justice:* Major E. Nogales.

*Minister of Defence:* Lieut.-Colonel José Pinto.

*Minister of Economy:* Jorge Zarco Kramer.

*Minister of Finance:* Victor Paz Estenssoro.

*Minister of Public Works and Communications:* Major Antonio Ponce.

*Minister of Education:* Major Jorge Calero.

*Minister of Work:* Dr. German Monroy Block.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Julio Zuazo Cuenca.

*Minister in London:* (Vacant), 1A Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1.

*Tel.:* Victoria 1339.

*Chargé d'Affaires a.i.:* Juan Peñaranda.

*British Minister to Bolivia:* Ivor Rhys.

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DOCUMENTS: (*See Brazil*)

## BRAZIL

*Flag*: Green with yellow lozenge in centre; blue sphere with white band and stars in centre of lozenge.

*President*: Dr. Getulio Dornelles Vargas, born 1883. Assumed office in 1934. (Chief of the Provisional Government since 1930.)

*Minister of Foreign Affairs*: Ambassador P. Leão Velloso.

*Minister of Labour and Commerce*: Dr. Alexandre Marcondes Filho.

*Minister of Justice and Interior*: Dr. Agamemnon Magalhães.

*Minister of Transport and Public Works*: General Joao Mendonca Lima.

*Minister of Agriculture*: Dr. Apolonio Jorge de Faria Salles.

*Minister of War*: Pedro Aurelio de Goes Monteiro.

*Minister of Marine*: Admiral Henrique Aristides Guilhem.

*Minister of Finance*: Dr. Arthur de Souza Costa.

*Minister of Education and Health*: Dr. Gustavo Gapanema.

*Brazilian Ambassador in Britain*: Dr. José Joaquim de Lina e Silva Moniz de Aragão, C.B.E. (1939).

*Offices*: 54 Mount Street, W.1. *Tel.*: May 6658.

*British Ambassador in Brazil*: Sir Noel Charles, Bt., K.C.M.G., M.C. (1941).

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## RESOURCES OF BRAZIL

By DR. J. J. MONÍZ DE ARAGÃO

*Brazilian Ambassador*

As these words are being written, the long and anxiously awaited news of the surrender of the forces of Japan has been announced and with it the return of peace in this war-scarred world. It would therefore perhaps be the right moment to give a short description of Brazil's participation during this grim struggle, and the help she proposes giving to restore the nations who have been the victims of aggression to something approaching normal conditions, through U.N.R.R.A. and other organizations. Brazil broke off diplomatic and economic relations with Japan immediately following the latter's treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour and, after being the victim of the most cowardly aggression by enemy submarines against her merchant shipping, which occasioned great losses to Brazilian life, Brazil, on August 22, 1942, declared a state of war against Germany and Italy. Immediately all her fine harbours on the Atlantic, together with their dockyard facilities and shipyards, were immediately placed at the disposal of the Allies. At Natal, amongst other sites, was built one of the greatest air bases in the world and which became a vital link for the North African and European campaigns and without which, in the words of President Roosevelt, 'the allied campaigns could not have been realized.' Brazil's Fleet and Air Force gave invaluable help in patrolling the sea lane of merchant shipping in the South Atlantic. The Brazilian Army was put on a war footing and in 1944 a Brazilian expeditionary force of considerable strength disembarked in Naples and, incorporated with the Fifth Army, fought on the Italian front with great success, culminating in the surrender to them of a whole German division of the Wehrmacht. Brazil has thus the proud and unique distinction of being the only country of South and Central America to have an entirely self-contained Expeditionary Force fighting in Europe with the Allied Nations. Brazil to-day represents a most important factor in U.N.R.R.A. and has already subscribed no less than \$30,000,000, beside setting up a mixed commission for the purchase of foodstuffs and textiles from Brazil.

What strikes the outsider most forcibly about Brazil is the immensity of her territory, nearly 3,300,000 square miles in extent, occupying about half of the South American continent. Her population of 46,000,000 bears a similar proportion to that of the southern and central portions of the Western Hemisphere. Her people, in contradistinction to her sister republics, whose tongue is Spanish, speak Portuguese exclusively.

Brazil is bounded along the whole of her eastern boundary from north to south by the Atlantic Ocean. On the north and west she confronts no less than ten different peoples, including the British, French and Dutch Guianas, with whom it has been Brazil's traditional policy, epitomized by her great Foreign Minister, Barão de Rio Branco, to solve all boundary problems by treaty and arbitration, rather than by having recourse to arms.

Brazil is to-day concentrating intensely on her post-war problems, the chief of which is, of course, her programme of reconstruction and replace-

ment. In spite of the immense difficulties occasioned by the war, she has made tremendous efforts towards self-sufficiency, the most important of which is the construction of the great blast furnaces and steel mills at Volta Redonda in the State of Rio de Janeiro. These will utilize the vast iron-ore deposits of Itabira, not only the largest in the world, but also of the highest grade. This plant is starting operations this year, with an estimated output for the first year of 300,000 tons, to be increased eventually to 1,000,000 tons per annum.

Brazil is rapidly becoming industrialized, as will be appreciated by the fact that her output of cotton textiles exceeds that of Great Britain.

A network of air routes now covers the greater part of the country in every direction, with the result that voyages requiring sometimes twenty-four days are reduced to two.

Brazil, with her varied resources, her vast area and her potentialities, offers an immense field of activity for the populations of war-torn Europe. Brazil is alive to the value of such immigration, but, as for some time past, will regulate this stream in an organized form, so that not only will immigrants be chosen for their qualities, but for their qualifications for the requirements of Brazil, chief of which is that of agriculture.

## DOCUMENTS

### RIO DECLARATION

#### THIRD MEETING OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

*Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, January 28, 1942*

#### *Reiteration of a Principle of American Law*

Whereas:

1. In accordance with its historical, racial, political and juridical tradition, there is and can be no room in America for the so-called racial, linguistic or religious "minorities" and

2. In accordance with this concept, Resolutions XXVII and XXVIII, approved at the Pan-American Conference in Lima in 1938, confirm the principle that residents who, according to domestic law, are considered aliens, cannot claim collectively the condition of minorities, individually, however, they will continue to enjoy the rights to which they are entitled.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

Declares:

That it reiterates the principle of American Public Law, according to which aliens residing in an American State are subject to the jurisdiction of that State, and the Governments and Agencies of the countries of which such aliens are nationals cannot lawfully interfere, directly or indirectly, in domestic affairs for the purpose of controlling the status or activities of such aliens.

#### *Continental Solidarity in Observance of Treaties*

Whereas:

1. The concept of solidarity, in addition to embodying altruistic sentiments held in common, includes that of co-operation so necessary to

forestall obstacles which may prejudice the maintenance of that principle, or the reestablishment of harmony when weakened or disrupted by the adoption of measures contrary to the dictates of international law and morality;

2. This solidarity must be translated into facts in order to become a living reality; since from a philosophical concept it has developed into an historic affirmation through repeated and frequent reaffirmations in international agreements freely agreed upon;

3. Respect for the pledged word in international treaties rests upon incontestable juridical principles as well as on precepts of morality in accordance with the maxim of canon law: *Pacta sunt servanda*;

4. Such agreements, whether bilateral or multilateral, must not be modified or nullified unilaterally, except as otherwise provided as in the case of 'denunciation' clearly authorized by the parties;

5. Only thus can peace, inspired by the common welfare of the peoples be founded on an enduring basis, as proclaimed at the meeting in Habana; and

6. Or peaceful relations among peoples would be practically impossible in the absence of strict observance of all pacts solemnly celebrated which have met all the formalities provided for in the laws of the High Contracting Parties in order to render them juridically effective.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

Declares:

1. That should the Government of an American nation violate an agreement or a treaty duly perfected by two or more American Republics or should there be reason to believe that a violation which might disturb the peace or solidarity of the Americas is being contemplated, any American State may initiate the consultation contemplated in Resolution XVII of Habana with the object of agreeing upon the measures to be taken.

2. That the Government desiring to initiate the consultation and propose a Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics or their representatives, shall communicate with the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union specifying in detail the subjects to be considered as well as the approximate date on which the meeting should take place.

### *The Good Neighbour Policy*

Whereas:

1. Relations among nations, if they are to have foundations which will assure an international order under law, must be based on the essential and universal principle of justice;

2. The standard proclaimed and observed by the U.S. of America to the effect that its international policy must be founded on that of the 'good neighbor' is a general criterion of right and a source of guidance in the relations between States, and this well-conceived policy prescribes respect for the fundamental rights of States as well as co-operation between them for the welfare of international society; and

3. This policy has been one of the elements contributing to the present solidarity of the Americas and their joint co-operation in the solution of outstanding problems of the continent.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

Declares:

That the principle that international conduct must be inspired by the policy of the good neighbor is a norm of international law of the American Continent.

*Post-war Problems*

Whereas:

1. World peace must be based on the principles of respect for law, of justice and co-operation which inspire the nations of America and which have been expressed at Inter-American Meetings held from 1889 to date;

2. A new order of peace must be supported by economic principles which will ensure equitable and lasting international trade with equal opportunities for all Nations;

3. Collected security must be founded not only on political institutions but also on just, effective and liberal economic systems;

4. It is indispensable to undertake the immediate study of the basis for this new economic and political order; and

5. It is an imperative necessity for the countries of America to increase their productive capacity; to secure, from their international trade, returns which will permit them adequately to remunerate labor and improve the standard of living of workers; to protect and preserve the health of their peoples and develop their civilization and culture.

The Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics

Resolves:

1. To request the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union to convoke an inter-American Technical Economic Conference charged with the study of present and post-war economic problems.

2. To entrust the Inter-American Juridical Committee with the formulation of specific recommendations relative to the international organization in juridical and political fields, and in the field of international security.

3. To entrust the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee with a similar function in the economic field, to make the necessary preparations for the Inter-American Technical Economic Conference, referred to in the first paragraph of this Resolution.

4. To request the Pan-American Union to appoint an Executive Committee to receive such projects as the American nations may present, and to submit said projects, respectively, to the Inter-American Juridical Committee and to the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee.

5. To request the Pan-American Union to direct this Executive Committee to submit the recommendations of the Inter-American Juridical

Committee to the Governments of the American Republics so that the conclusions reached may be adopted at a subsequent meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

6. To request the Pan-American Union to determine, in agreement with the Governments of the American Republics, the date and place of meeting of the Inter-American Technical Economic Conference.

## CHILE

*Flag:* Two horizontal bands, white and red; white star on a blue square next to top of staff.

*President of the Republic:* Juan Antonio Ríos; assumed office, April 2, 1942, for a six-year term.

*The Government (formed October 22, 1942):*

*Minister of Defence:* N. Arnaldo Carrasco.

*Minister of the Interior:* Luis Alamos Barros.

*Minister for Foreign Affairs:* Joaquín Fernandez.

*Minister of Finance:* Pablo Ramirez.

*Minister of Education:* Juan Antonio Iribarren.

*Minister of Land and Colonisation:* Fidel Estay.

*Minister of Public Works:* Eduardo Frei.

*Minister of Labour:* Mariano Bustos.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Jorge Urzúa.

*Minister of Public Health:* Sotero del Rio.

*Minister for Commerce:* Pedro Alfonso.

*Chief of Staff of the Army:* General Oscar Escudero Otarola.

*Chief of Staff of the Navy:* Admiral Julio Allard Pinto.

*Chief of Staff of the Air Force:* General Armando Castro Lopez.

*Ambassador to Great Britain:* Manuel Bianchi, 3 Hamilton Place, London, W.1. Tel.: Grosvenor 1769.

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*Mensual Anual de S.E. el Presidente de la República al Congreso Nacional.*

## THE CHILEAN EFFORT

BY SR. DON MANUEL BIANCHI

*Ambassador of Chile*

It is no secret that Chile occupies a position of great strategic importance along the west coast of South America. With a coast line of over 2,000

miles, possessor of islands near the continent, such as Juan Fernandez, and of others much further distant in the centre of the Pacific, such as Easter Island, possessing also, in the region of Magallanes, a great archipelago of navigable canals, terminating in the Strait of Magallanes, which unites the Pacific with the Atlantic, it will readily be seen that the geographical position of my country is undeniably important to the defence of the Continent.

From the very outset, the patrolling of this vast expanse of coastline has been left entirely in our hands, and consequently we have been obliged to increase our Navy and Air Force to an extent which represents a considerable economic sacrifice to the country.

I would like to mention specially the Chilean Navy, which is recognised throughout the world as being one of remarkable efficiency. The Chileans are above everything a seafaring people, and one of the chief national characteristics is a passion for the sea and for every activity connected with it.

The Chilean Fleet has several modern warships, including a battle-cruiser of 32,000 tons, destroyers, submarines and auxiliary vessels of various types, representing a total of 180,000 tons. Since the days of our independence, the Navy has been trained on British lines—a system which has been maintained throughout the 130 years of its history. The first Chilean Naval Commander-in-Chief during the War of Independence was Lord Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, and the tradition bequeathed by this great British sailor to Chilean seamen still lives on and is cherished with affection and respect.

As to aviation, which is of such importance in the patrolling of the long Chilean coast, the Air Force has been improved both as regards model equipment and the tactics necessary to maintain vigilance against air or sea attacks. Training of Air Force personnel is based on the American system and planes and equipment in general are also of United States manufacture.

Chile's greatest efforts, however, are concentrated on the supply of raw materials for the Allied war industries, especially copper and nitrate, two of the most indispensable elements in the manufacture of arms and munitions.

We are producing over 500,000 tons of copper per year, the second largest output in the world, and only surpassed by the United States. The increase has taken place in this one industry alone to a remarkable extent; for instance, in 1933 Chile produced 163,395 tons of copper, while last year she produced more than 500,000.

Nitrate production is likewise of great importance in the manufacture of munitions, and my Government is making every endeavour to maintain nitrate exports at the highest possible level. Nitrate sales rose from 437,000 tons in 1933 to 1,500,000 in 1942.

The Chilean Government is also paying very special attention to the need for still further increasing production of both copper and nitrate, despite the fact that Chile's imports of oil—indispensable for the fullest development of these industries—have had to be reduced through the exigencies of war. As a result, civilians are forbidden to use their cars, as all available petrol is being diverted exclusively to those industries which are actively aiding the war effort.

Apart from copper and nitrate, Chile possesses important deposits of

iron, antimony, tungsten, manganese and other mineral ores, which are also being utilised in war industries, although on a minor scale.

Again, once the food requirements of the Chilean people have been taken into account, all surplus production in meat and cereals is exported, principally to the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

With victory in sight, although the maximum effort is still required in order to bring about the unconditional surrender of the totalitarian Powers, many governments are already studying the problems likely to present themselves when the war is won.

It is indispensable that the allied nations should not only maintain unity in order to triumph over the forces of hate and oppression represented by the Axis, but that this spirit of unity should be carried forward so that the fruits of victory are not lost and that economic consequences of the conflict, especially the problems of demobilisation, the return of industry to peacetime production, etc., may be solved in the same atmosphere of understanding and sacrifice which has characterised military operations.

Chile is also taking into account all these post-war problems, and to this end has just established a National Commission to study such matters, both as concerns the country's own requirements and from the standpoint of her relations with other nations.

On August 19 last, at the opening session of this Commission, the President of the Republic, His Excellency Señor Don Juan Antonio Ríos, gave an address in which he said, among other things:

‘We can establish our indisputable right to take part in co-operative efforts in the peace. The phenomenon which occurred after the last war must not happen again; then, lack of organisation in the American countries produced a state of total crisis, and Latin America never had a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations. The last post-war period was therefore one of confusion, which hatched the second great war of the century, and it might well be thought that present civilisation could not survive a third conflict. Britain and the United States of America are preparing a post-war organisation, embracing useful ideas which will doubtless be translated into the action demanded for the moral salvation of the world. One of the greatest mistakes of the peace after the last war was disregard for the opinions and needs of a majority of the nations. They entered, almost by compulsion, into a system which did not take into account their specific interests. A peace in favour of the Great Powers only could not be a world peace. Latin America could not ensure conditions which would have freed her from unexpected unemployment and a sharp fall in prices and wages. The lack of organic unity between the American nations contributed to the intense economic crisis suffered by each one of them, each country fighting for itself in an atmosphere of international tension, subject to the predominance of unreserved egoism, which caused a dangerous fall in the standard of living and in the wages of the workers, resulting in reduced industrial initiative. It is necessary, therefore, that during the war an inter-American system of co-operation should be organised, to deal specifically with post-war needs. Our studies and subsequent conclusions should be considered in conjunction with those of other American countries, this being an indispensable basis for a continental plan of trade development and one which should



provide us with a terrain of social, economic and juridical collaboration, to avert surprises after the war.'

The President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, speaking on the first anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, referred likewise to post-war problems, with special mention of the steps already taken, and being taken, by his Government in order to protect the social and economic security of the post-war world.

When Hitler's formidable war machine is to-day being destroyed as the result of enormous sacrifice by the democracies, it would be foolish in the extreme if collaboration between the Allies were allowed to diminish in the sincerity, understanding and perspicacity required to solve such problems as will present themselves, once the Axis guns are effectively silenced.

The American countries have lately taken part in a series of inter-national conferences, which has helped to create among them a determined spirit of solidarity, and this spirit should enable the continent of Columbus to deal with whatever problems may arise, however insoluble they may appear, for the well-being of all concerned. Our mutual understanding is further helped by the fact that we know each other sufficiently well to profit by the good qualities and make allowance for the defects we all possess. If it can be said to-day that there is in the world a real 'family of nations,' each one acting towards the other in a spirit of friendliness and intimacy, then such a 'family' exists in America. There is no doubt that this sentiment is beginning to attract attention among other countries, when they see that the life of the American nations is a little easier than that of other continents, and that it has been possible to build up, in spite of great distances and the accident of geographical position which separate the various American republics, a remarkable spiritual and economic unity.

The fact that all members of the American 'family' are profoundly democratic, that their respective legislations coincide and that their historical beginnings show a great similarity has facilitated the common action for common defence and the common good.

There are also other factors to be taken into account. I mean, the aid to understanding which exists among the American nations in as much as there is not the same diversity of language among them as there is among other continents of the world. Much is being said to-day concerning the necessity of finding a common language which will help towards mutual understanding, once the catastrophe which at present envelops the world has been dispelled. There can be no doubt that a great opportunity will exist for the English tongue to become one of the principal, if not the foremost, of the languages of the future.

But I should like to stress the point I made in an address which I gave recently to the members of the Torquay Rotary Club, when I referred to the Spanish language as being one which, for many potent reasons, should be accorded an importance which at present it lacks. There are 140 million people in the world who speak Spanish, and these 140 millions are divided among twenty independent nations distributed over Europe, Africa, Asia and the greater part of the American countries.

The remarkable increase of population in the Latin-American countries is well known, for which reason it should be borne in mind that in less than fifty years time Brazil and the Spanish-speaking countries of America will contain over 200 million inhabitants.

Moreover, Spanish is not difficult to learn and has the great advantage of being a phonetic language which greatly facilitates both its speaking and writing.

Shakespeare and Cervantes, the two greatest literary geniuses of the world, contemporaries to the extent that they lived and worked during the same period and both died during the same year, would rejoice if they could know that, as a tribute to the universality of their work, the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking peoples would agree to make the two languages which they themselves used to such perfection a real medium of understanding, and therefore of peace, in the world of to-morrow.

## CHINA

*Flag:* Red, with blue canton, bearing a white sun.

*President:* Chiang Kai-shek.

*Executive Yuan:*

*President:* Chiang Kai-shek.

*The Five Yuan:*

*President, Executive Yuan:* T. V. Soong.

*Vice-President:* Wong Wen-hao.

*President, Legislative Yuan:* Son Fo.

*Vice-President:* Yeh Chu-tsang.

*President, Judicial Yuan:* Chu Cheng.

*Vice-President:* Chin Cheng.

*President, Examination Yuan:* Tai Chuan-hsien.

*Vice-President:* Chow Chung-yueh.

*President, Control Yuan:* Yu Yu-jen.

*Vice-President:* Liu Shang-ching.

*The Supreme National Defence Council:*

*Chairman:* Chiang Kai-shek.

*Secretary-General:* Wang Chung-hui.

*The Executive Yuan:*

*Minister of the Interior:* Chang Li-sheng.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Wang Shih-chieh.

*Minister of War:* Chen Cheng.

*Minister of Finance:* O. K. Yui.

*Minister of Economic Affairs:* Wong Wen-hao.

*Minister of Education:* Chu Chia-hua.

*Minister of Communications:* Yu Fei-peng.

*Minister of Agriculture and Forestry:* Shen Shih-tsai.

*Minister of Social Affairs:* Ku Cheng-kang.

*Minister of Food:* Hsu Kan.

*Minister of Justice:* Hsieh Kwan-sheng.

*Minister of Conscription:* Lu Chung-lin.

*Chairman, Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission:* Lo Liang-Chien.

*Chairman, Overseas Affairs Commission:* Chen Shu-jen.

*Chairman, National Relief Commission:* Hsu Shih-ying.

*Director, War Production Board:* Wong Wen-hao.

*Director, National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration:* T. F. Tsiang.

*Secretary-General, Executive Yuan:* Monlin Chiang.

*Director, Political Affairs Department, Executive Yuan:* Hsu Tao-lin.

*The National Military Council:*

*Chairman:* Chiang Kai-shek.

*Members:* Yen Hsi-shan, Feng Yu-hsiang, Li Tsung-jen, Chen Shao-kwan, Tang Sheng-chih, Hsiung Shih-hui, Wei Li-huang, Wan Fu-lin.

*Chief of Staff:* Ho Ying-chin.

*Deputy Chiefs of Staff:* Pai Chung-hsi, Chen Chien.

*Director, Main Office:* Ho Kuo-kuang.

*Minister, Board of Military Training:* Pai Chung-hsi.

*Minister, Board of Political Training:* Chang Chih-chung.

*President, Military Advisory Council:* Li Chi-sheng.

*Chairman, National Aeronautical Affairs Commission:* Chiang Kai-shek.

*Director, National Aeronautical Affairs Commission:* Chow Chih-jou.

*Commander-in-Chief of the Navy:* Chen Shao-Kwan.

*Director, War Transport Board:* Yu Fei-peng.

*Minister, Board of Military Operations:* Hsu Yung-chang.

*Board of Trustees for the Administration of the British Share of the 1901 Indemnity:*

*Chairman:* Chu Chia-hua.

*Vice-Chairman:* R. Calder-Marshall.

*Chinese Ambassador in London:* Dr. Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo.

*Counsellors:* Chen Wei-Cheng, Sze Chao-Kuei, 49 Portland Place, W.1.

*Tel.:* Welbeck 5794.

*British Ambassador to China:* Sir Horace James Seymour.

#### CHINESE INSTITUTIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

*Ministry of Information, U.K. Office:* Director, Dr. George C. Yeh, 3 Bentinck Street, W.1. *Tel.:* Welbeck 4142.

*China Institute:* Director, Dr. H. H. Chang, 16 Gordon Square, W.C.2.

*China Association:* 507 Cecil Chambers, Strand.

*China Campaign Committee:* 34 Victoria Street, S.W.1. Tel.: Abbey 2882.  
*China Center:* 30 Woburn Square, W.C.1.  
*China Relief:* 74 Grosvenor Street, W.1.  
*Government Purchasing Commission:* Director, Dr. C. C. Wang, 21 Tothill Street, S.W.1. Tel.: Whitehall 8963.

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## GAUDEAMUS!

*Eight Years of Agony Ended*

BY DR. WELLINGTON KOO

*Chinese Ambassador in London*

THE great day to which we have been looking forward so eagerly and which we have worked so hard to bring about has now come. You will understand me, I am sure, when I say that no people rejoices more in the complete defeat of Japan than the people of China. We were the first victims of Japanese aggression. Not only have we fought the enemy longest, but we have also suffered most. The overthrow of the Japanese militarists more than liberates China: it removes a positive menace to the peace and security of the world.

It was Japan who really started the Second World War. The unprovoked attack on Mukden in September, 1931, the devastation and seizure of Manchuria, Inner Mongolia and North China, and the subsequent assault on the Chinese troops at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking were only the first steps leading to that infamous act of treachery, the assault on Pearl Harbour and British Malaya. Because their ruthless invasion of China was not checked in time, there followed the Fascist and Nazi adventures in Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, until the whole of Europe was overrun. In turn, Japan felt further emboldened and struck again, this time at the two great Western democracies. As the war machine of Japan rolled on in Asia and occupied island after island in the Pacific, the other peace-loving peoples of the Far East joined in the common struggle against Japanese domination. And, recently, the Soviet Union has also taken up arms against the last Axis aggressor.

Now that the Japanese war machine has been utterly smashed and unconditional surrender accepted by the Japanese Government, the time for squaring accounts with Japan has come. The Japanese nation, which has supported the evil deeds of its warmongering militarists, must be made to atone for its blindness and folly. This is not to say that the Allies should deal with the Japanese in the spirit of vengeance, but stern measures must be imposed on the Japanese people and just retribution meted out to them, so that they shall never again aid and abet their future leaders in a deliberate policy of aggression and conquest.

With the last Axis Power overthrown, we can now settle down to the work of rehabilitation and reconstruction, which faces all of us after these years of ravage and destruction. We shall have to build out of the battered and impoverished world a new pattern of international life which will guarantee to us and posterity the blessings of peace, security and justice. Let us hope that the great Charter of the United Nations written at San Francisco will soon become a living instrument, and that by jointly supporting this new organization we may all look forward to a world in which our combined energy and intelligence can be devoted to the cause of goodwill and understanding amongst nations for the welfare of mankind.

\* \* \* \* \*

President Chiang Kai-shek, in his radio message to the people of the world and of China, affirmed that China's faith in moral principles had been vindicated. Justice is an eternal verity and throughout China's blackest days her faith in essential justice was unshaken. Freedom is a priceless possession, and eight agonizing years and many millions of lives have bought it for posterity. Future generations must guard it well.

But China knows that complete freedom is not yet won. Many and varied problems face her and the rest of the world. China's own programme of reconstruction is appalling in its immensity, and with the coming of peace the Chinese Communist problem clamours for immediate solution. Chungking is far from giving up hope of a peaceful political settlement, but the solution must be mutual and not unilateral. Great efforts are, at this moment, being made, both by the President and by Allied advisers in China, to bring together Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for frank discussions. Meanwhile the numerous projects for the new China go forward with all the energy of revolutionary China behind them.

China shares with Australia, Russia and the United States the feeling of doubt as to Japanese change of heart. An elementary precaution in these delicate days is to be alert for the first sign of treachery on the part of an enemy who obeys no law but that of expediency. No sincere indication of a changed outlook has so far issued from Tokyo, and, indeed, it would seem that the general plan is to show forth the Japanese as merely unlucky, defeated by a malicious Fate in their righteous struggle on behalf of their oppressed neighbours. Watch Japan!

## COLOMBIA

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, yellow (double size of other colours), blue and red.

*President:* Dr. Alfonso Lopez.

*Foreign Minister:* Alberto Lleras Camargo.

*Minister of Public Works:* Dr. Alvaro Dias.

*Minister of War:* General Domingo Espinel.

*Minister of Labour:* Dr. A. A. Andrade.

*Colombian Ambassador to Britain:* Dr. Jaime Jaramillo Arango.

*First Secretary:* Dr. Abel Botero.

*Embassy:* 63 Cadogan Square, London, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 8352.

*British Ambassador to Colombia:* Thomas Maitland Snow.

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## COSTA RICA

*Flag:* Five horizontal bands, blue, white, red, white, blue.

*President:* Theodore Picado.

*Foreign Minister:* Alberto Echandi.

*Minister of War:* Francisco Calderon Guardia.

*Minister of Finance:* F. P. Gutierrez.

*Minister of the Interior:* Carlo Jimenez.

*Minister of Public Health:* Solon Nunez.

*Minister of Education:* Luis Demetrio Pinoco.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Mariano Montealegre.

*Minister of Labour:* Miguel Brenes.

*Minister in London:* (Vacant).

*Chargé d'Affaires and Consul:* Mr. J. C. Eggers, Grove Ash, Grove Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.

*British Envoy Extraordinary, Minister Plenipotentiary:* Charles Edward Shuter Dodd (1939). (See Panama.)

*Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General in Costa Rica:* G. Lyall.

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#### CUBA

*Flag:* Five horizontal bands, blue and white (blue at top and bottom), with red triangle close to staff, charged with silver star.

*President:* Ramon Grau San Martin.

*Vice-President:* Raul de Cardenas Echarte.

*Prime Minister:* Félix Lancís Sánchez.

*Minister of State for Foreign Affairs:* Alberto Inocente Alvarez (1945).

*Minister of Justice:* Carlos F. de la Cruz Valdés.

*Minister of Home Affairs:* Segundo Curti Messina.

*Minister of Finance:* Manuel Fernández Supervielle.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Germán Alvarez Fuentes.

*Minister of Commerce:*

*Minister of Labour:* Carlos Azcarate Rosell.

*Minister of Education:* Luis Perez Esprinos.

*Minister of Health and Social Services:* José A. Presno.

*Minister of Transport:* Sergio Clark Diaz.

*Minister of Public Works:* Gustavo Moreno Lastre.

- Minister of National Defence:* Commandant Salvador Menéndez Villoch.  
*Secretary of the Council of the Ministers and of the Presidency:* Julian F. de Solorzano Renaud.  
*Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs:* Rafael P. Gonzalez Munoz.  
*Cuban Legation in London: Envoy and Minister:* Guillermo de Blanck y Menocal (1937), 35 Wilton Crescent, S.W.1. Tel.: Sloane 5814.  
*British Legation in Cuba: Envoy and Minister:* Sir George Arthur Brostan Ogilvie-Forbes, C.M.G. (appointed, November, 1939).

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## CUBA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

BY G. DE BLANCK

*Cuban Minister*

IN 1857, an English missionary, James M. Phillippo, in a book on *The United States and Cuba*—in which he expressed admiration for the Union, but none for the Spanish Government and its colony—wrote: ‘Under any circumstances will Cuba be free. The spirit of liberty is abroad among her people.’ From 1868 to 1878 the Cubans rebelled against their mother country and lost the battle. I belong to the generation that, after a second rebellion, saw the disappearance of the Spanish flag from our soil. We are young and we have much to learn; we could have done better in these years of independence, but we can say that we have done something, and those who remember the old colonial days speak of Cuba as of a new country.

To say that Cuba is the Pearl of the Antilles is to repeat an old banality, though it is certainly a fact. In the Caribbean, no other state has larger territory, better climate or greater wealth. Her population exceeds that of her neighbour island, and her political and strategical position is unique. Geography has made her the key between the two vast American continents.

Cuba’s real wealth is still hidden in her soil. Her apparent wealth is, in appearance, great, yet if analysed closely, it is more brilliant than real because of the large proportion of North American investments in the sugar production, the profits of which go largely to the United States. If Cuba had developed more slowly, with a larger proportion of native capital, her economy would have been less showy and more solid. During the short sugar boom brought about by the First World War my compatriots were generously tempted to sell more of their lands and industry than they should have done; yet, on the other side, it was natural that this capital should have been attracted to Cuba. I hope that in future foreign capital will be encouraged to collaborate with our own financial resources.

Cuba’s soil is not only extraordinarily fertile, but also contains considerable deposits of iron, copper, manganese and naphtha, and there are indications of the presence of oil. There is a great variety of tropical trees, plants and fruit—pineapples, bananas, oranges, avocado pears, grapefruit, mangoes, etc.—and a number of plants which might be used as textiles. Her wealth of fine hard and precious woods has been greatly depleted, but some still remains. Sugar could be produced in quantities to supply a large part of the world consumption; as is well known, it is the basis of Cuba’s economic life. Cuba is the home of the Havana cigar, unrivalled throughout the world. Such are, *grosso modo*, her riches, and a glimpse of the possibilities of her development.

The population of Cuba is not what might be expected, considering her wealth and her territorial extent; although in less than half a century which has elapsed since her independence it has grown from a million and a few hundred thousands to almost 5,000,000. At the outset of the present century the Cubans were white, of Spanish origin and of Roman Catholic faith, with a small proportion of coloured people. The Great War occasioned a scantiness of transport and rendered difficult for Cuba the usual employment of Spanish workers. Coloured labour was therefore imported

at that time from Jamaica and Haiti which increased the coloured population, represented to-day by more or less one-tenth of the total. The economic crisis after the last war closed the gates on the foreigner in search of fortune, and especially on the Spaniard. They were opened again, some years ago, to the Polish Jews, who rapidly became masters of much native trade; and during the present war Cuba has given asylum to refugees from Germany and Austria, who have met with success from the start.

When the United States entered the war against Germany in 1917, Cuba immediately followed, and President Menocal offered to send 25,000 men to the front. This offer, however, was not accepted by President Wilson, on account of the difficulties of training, language and other obstacles, so Cuba gave her co-operation in other ways. In the Second World War the republic again followed the United States without hesitation, and has given to the Allies, and especially to America, every assistance within her power by patrolling her shores, combating the submarine menace and supplying important naval and air bases to the United States, and sugar, alcohol, manganese, food, etc. She has also acted vigorously to prevent espionage and all pro-Fascist activities. A good many Cubans have been serving in the allied armies and air forces of the United States and Canada, and also in their merchant navies.

Cuba has consistently followed a policy of Pan-American unity and collaboration in all matters affecting the welfare of the American continents, and has participated in the same spirit in the conferences of the United Nations held at Hot Springs, at Bretton Woods, at the International Conference on Civil Aviation at Chicago and at San Francisco. Havana has been the seat of many Pan-American conferences and of the important International Conference on Air Transport held in April of this year. Cuba has taken an active part in all these meetings, and her helpful collaboration has been fully recognized. It is unnecessary to say that she will continue to give her fullest support to all the plans agreed upon for world betterment and for the solidarity of all peoples, and particularly to the new Organization of the United Nations.

Cuba's actual policy under the presidency of Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin is fully democratic and aims principally to better the conditions of the mass of the people. To this endeavour all its energies are being applied; the labouring classes, including the agricultural workers, have seen their wages and working conditions improved; the advancement of the education and of the health of the people are receiving the utmost attention; every effort is being made to improve all aspects of Cuba's social and economic life.

The position of Cuba, as far as her foreign trade is concerned, is at present satisfactory, although, in common with nearly all other countries, she suffers from the inability to import many essential goods and from the rise in prices. Her exports in 1944 amounted to \$427,000,000 (equivalent in U.S. currency), which was \$218,000,000 more than the value of her imports. Cuba has to make, however, large payments on her national debt and on account of private investments in the island to citizens of the United States abroad, and her true balance of international payments is therefore much less than her 'visible' balance. Cuba has not had the benefit of the 'tourist trade' during the war, but as her climate and her scenery and many other attractions make her one of the most desirable

places for tourists, this 'trade' should revive again on an even greater scale than before the war. The posters which describe Cuba in winter as a 'Paradise for Tourists' are perhaps not too far from the truth.

To an exceptional degree, Cuba is dependent for her prosperity—and that means for maintaining a satisfactory level of employment and a fair standard of living for her people—on the export of her sugar, tobacco and other products of an equitable price. So Cuba views with no small interest the plans which are being worked out to expand world trade and to increase the general prosperity of the peoples of the world, in which she hopes to share, not only by supplying other countries with her products, but also by receiving those of other countries in exchange. This is one aspect of world solidarity to which small countries especially must attach the greatest importance.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

*Flag:* White and red, with a blue triangle pointing to the middle.

*President:* Dr. Edvard Beneš.

*Prime Minister:* Zdenek Fierlinger.

*Vice-Premiers:* Monsignor Jan Sramek, Jozka David, Klement Gottwald, Jan Ursiny, Viliam Siroky.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Jan Masaryk.

*Minister for National Defence:* General Ludvik Svoboda.

*Minister for Foreign Trade:* Dr. Hubert Ripka.

*Minister of the Interior:* Vaclav Nosek.

*Minister of Justice:* Professor Jaroslav Stransky.

*Minister of Information:* Dr. Vaclav Kopecky.

*Minister of Finance:* Dr. Vavro Srobar.

*Minister of Industry:* Bohumil Lausman.

*Minister for Internal Trade:* Ivan Pietor.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Julius Duris.

*Minister of Food:* Vaclav Majer.

*Minister of Transport:* General Jan Hasal-Nizborsky.

*Minister for Post, Telegraph and Telephone:* Monsignor Frantisek Hala.

*Minister for the Protection of Labour and Social Welfare:* Josef Soltes.

*Minister of Education:* Professor Zdonek Nojodly.

*Minister of Public Health:* Professor Adolf Prochazka.

*Czechoslovak Ambassador to Great Britain:* Dr. Max Lobkowicz.

*Embassy:* 8 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Slo. 9241.

*British Ambassador to Czechoslovakia:* Philip Nicholls.

*Czechoslovak Red Cross:* 35 Porchester Terrace, W.2. *Tel.:* Pad. 2232.

Czechoslovak Institute, 18 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1. Tel.: Slo. 5238-9.

Czechoslovak Research Institute: Fursecroft, George Street, W.1.

Director: Dr. Jaroslav Cisar.

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## THE LIBERATION OF PRAGUE

BY PRESIDENT BENEŠ

We return to our homeland after one of the most terrible wars in history. The Allied nations have achieved a glorious triumph, and we have full right to rank amongst them as a victorious nation and State. We have to a great extent shouldered the burden of this terrible war; we have been its symbol and its victim. The war started in Prague, and in Prague it ended. Germany falls now into decay and disaster. The Czechs and Slovaks arise again to a new and great future, and start a new life for new ideals, for new values, and for a new mankind, such as Masaryk understood and proclaimed. A glorious, though very painful, phase of our Czech national struggle—over six years of resistance at home and abroad—comes to an end in the collapse and disintegration of Germany. The collapse and disintegration of Nazism ends in one of the greatest triumphs of the democratic ideal.

And now we return home to hand back democratically to the Czechoslovak people the mandate allotted to us by the development of world events, to give an account of all we have done; and we will proceed at home as the will of the people at home will decide. Since 1922 I have been fighting Fascism and Nazism uncompromisingly. I have never made fundamental compromises either with the first or the second, and never reconciled myself with either. In the struggle at Munich I was defeated in the fight under extremely sad circumstances, together with all of you and with our entire State. We have all gone through hell and indescribable spiritual and physical sufferings.

I did not believe in the possibility of a lasting victory for this miserable, warped and morbid Fascist pestilence. In particular, I never believed that such a victory, even if only temporary, could be confined merely to Czechoslovakia. Since September, 1938, I realized that this disaster was only the beginning of a long, extremely painful and stormy process, which would become one single complex and would perhaps befall other countries in an even worse degree than us, a process which would certainly engulf almost the whole of Europe. Since 1933, I understood the last war and the twenty years of struggle between the two wars as one coherent process of history which could and perhaps has to culminate in a great crisis.

Therefore, when I left for abroad in October, 1938, I was already making purposeful and systematic preparations for a second fight for liberation. Thus we in exile and all you people at home worked together

for this aim. To-day we can all state with satisfaction that our leadership of the Czechoslovak revolt never wavered. From the first moment of the struggle it was realized that this was a European and world conflict. Having reckoned since October and November, 1939, with the possibility of the fall of France, I personally never lost faith in Britain's resistance, counted for certain on the help of the U.S.A., and was absolutely convinced that, happen what may, the Soviet Union would enter the war and fight against Nazism.

Against the opinion of a vast part of the world public, an opinion prevailing from 1939 until almost the end of 1942 in all Allied countries, I had long regarded the Russian Revolution as victorious and successful and therefore the Soviet Union as a State which in this war would go to the limits of its ability and would in no case be defeated. Unlike others, I concluded that the Soviet Union and Western Europe must in the end come to terms, and together would win the war and build a victorious peace. On this basis I formed my personal ideology about this tremendous world war in the first of the three decisive war years, the ideology of our national policy and of our struggle for liberation in this great crisis. I have never betrayed this ideology or wavered in it for any personal or opportunist reasons.

Another great result of our struggle was the definite annulment of what could be called the Munich Agreement. In full realization of what I am saying, I assert that the war of 1939 need not have happened. During the war the annulment of Munich was for us the supreme national and fundamental question, but for me this was first of all a moral question. And from the moral point of view I regard this as one of the greatest successes of our struggle for liberation. In 1938 the Western world had heavily damaged us internationally, and let it be stated that by this war it has made good that grave injustice. This was the wiping out of the wrong done to us, but, moreover, it vindicated the correctness of the orientation of our foreign policy of 1938 and it also confirmed the fact that our common policy with the Soviet Union of the pre-Munich crisis was correct, for Munich, from an international point of view, was not less an attack on the Soviet Union than on ourselves.

The third great success of our struggle abroad I see in the international solution of the Slovak cause. The separation of Slovakia from Bohemia was a blow directed against the heart of our State. All our opponents knew this and, therefore, planned the separation of Slovakia from Bohemia. Our enemies' intention has always been to break our unity, so that both of us, weak and without freedom, become their slaves and both, Czechs and Slovaks, fall under their yoke. I see that the great victory of our present struggle in this war, in this Second World War, lies in the fact that Czechoslovak unity has been secured for us internationally and maintained on new and saner foundations. We shall not forget the deadly danger which the Bratislav traitors brought to their country.

Our troops on the Soviet front have done remarkable work which was well appreciated by the Soviet Union. Together with our soldiers, our airmen fought on the Western Front, thus creating a new military tradition for us. In the Middle East, too, our soldiers fulfilled their duties admirably.

Let me, however, stress that great military deeds were also performed here at home. The Slovak revolution in 1944, and finally the fight for the

liberation, will for us always remain among the most important events of the war. Our underground movement must also be considered as part of our military operations. Our political work, which was never interrupted throughout the war, those of our people who were executed or tortured to death or imprisoned in concentration camps, all did their national duty wonderfully. Our national history throughout the years of the Second World War is full of military, political and diplomatic successes which are in accordance with our great Czech and Slovak national tradition. They have strengthened our moral position in Europe and in the present-day world.

In returning to normal, lawful political work at home, we are fully aware that we shall have to cope with many revolutionary post-war problems and for a certain time with many difficulties. We shall make all efforts to rebuild our life on the basis of the democratic political parties, on the basis of democratic discussion, and on the basis of our constitutional laws which will have to be adapted to the internal changes of the post-war era. The political parties will have to be reconstructed and their pre-war number will have to be reduced. Relations between Czechs and Slovaks will have to be placed on a new basis, and we shall have to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards the Germans and the Hungarians in Slovakia. We must cleanse our country from everything German, culturally, economically and politically. We shall have to create our new economic and social life, carry out new planning for our industry and agriculture, and for our cultural life, which has in such a brutal way been destroyed by Nazism in the last six years. We shall have to re-organize thoroughly our public administration, and we shall have to prepare plans for our new Czechoslovak Army which must be adjusted to the new situation. All this will have to be put on a firm legal basis of the new constitution of the Republic.

Our work will be difficult because of the terrible devastation of our country, whose economic, agricultural, and industrial riches have been so terribly looted. Yet I have faith in our great national discipline. I have faith in Czech and Slovak patriotism. I believe in our general national rebirth which was already being prepared during our national oppression.

Let us be grateful to the peoples of the Soviet Union for all their tremendous sacrifices which they made for us. Let us be grateful to the Red Army for its tremendous efforts and for its military skill which made it possible to achieve the magnificent successes against German bestiality, successes such as have never before been achieved in Russian history. Let us be grateful to Britain who showed so much gallantry and perseverance and who at one phase of the war had to withstand alone the tremendous German onslaught, thus saving the world from German destruction. Let us be thankful to the U.S.A. for their tremendous war effort and for their surprising military efforts which saved the democracies and resulted in our victory. Let us gratefully remember Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt for all they have done for humanity in this war. Let us not forget France and all the other Allies. For the future let us promise ourselves always to remain faithful to our great Czech and Slovak traditions, to the ideas of our revolutionary era, to the idea of our new Slav policy of unity with the great Russian nation and with the other Slav nations which have been sealed by the blood shed on the battlefields.



## DOCUMENTS

## PRIME MINISTER'S REPORT ON MOSCOW DISCUSSIONS

ON July 2, 1945, M. Zdenek Fierlinger, the Czechoslovak Prime Minister, broadcast from Prague to the Czechoslovak people a statement on the discussions of the Czechoslovak Government delegation, headed by M. Fierlinger, in Moscow, between June 21 and July 1, 1945.

An official visit abroad by a Prime Minister and six members of his Cabinet is not a frequent event in international politics. It is, however, obvious that our relationship with our great Eastern neighbour—to whom we are primarily indebted for the restoration of our dependence and to whom we are linked by close friendship and a treaty of alliance—is very special, and goes beyond the framework of customary international relations. Apart from this, the President and Premier of the Polish Republic and a number of members of the Polish Government happened to be in Moscow at the time, to complete their negotiations with the democratic wing of the London Government.

The Soviet Government, disquieted by incidents on the Czechoslovak-Polish frontier—incidents which certainly were not instigated by us—invited authoritative Czechoslovak representatives to Moscow to negotiate with the Polish Government on the matter. With the best intentions, the Soviet Government invited us to find a solution to the Tešín problem acceptable both to us and Poland. Our Government gladly accepted the invitation and, to prove its eagerness for an agreement with our Polish friends, sent a truly representative delegation to Moscow. At the same time we used the opportunity to settle with the Soviet Government the numerous other questions, of so much importance to us, which have arisen in this period of transition from the occupation régime and war-time conditions to peacetime conditions and the difficult task of restoring our exhausted economy.

In the discussions with the Polish statesmen, we realized that the Poland of to-day has been painfully affected by the loss of considerable territories in the East and is fighting hard for every Polish ethnical group outside the Polish frontiers. Consequently, Warsaw is again concentrating its interest on the Polish nationals living in the Tešín district, who Warsaw erroneously believes form the majority of the population of that district. We tried to explain to the Polish statesmen the real position of the whole complicated nationality problems in the Tešín district, historically a pure Czech district, where various national movements have been in collision since the end of the last century, when extensive industrial developments began, and where the Beck régime and later the German occupation created an atmosphere which makes it sometimes difficult to restore peace and order, especially as the German occupation left both economy and currency in chaos. We also drew the attention of the Polish statesmen to the disloyal propaganda carried on by the followers of the Beck régime, but assured them that our administration, which is in the hands of the local National Committees, would treat loyal Poles in as friendly a manner as possible and guarantee them all the rights of citizenship enjoyed by our citizens.

We reminded the Polish statesmen that we regard the Tešín district as an indispensable part of our economic State entity.

The coalfields of Karvinna represent the main source of energy for our industries. Trinec represents one of our main modern industrial combines, which have been built up with the help of considerable capital investments. Apart from this, our main railway route, linking us with Slovakia, runs along the eastern borders of the Tešín district. The delegate Ursiny explained both to the Poles and to the Soviet statesmen the view of the whole of Slovakia, which urgently needs not only coal from Karvinna and coke from Trinec, but also the Košice-Bohumín railway line which runs through the Jablonka Pass. The loss of the Tešín district would disrupt the organic coherence of Bohemia and Moravia on the one hand and Slovakia on the other. We told our Polish friends we were willing to accept any alternative solution, including an exchange of population, which would not affect the territorial coherence of our State, and assured them of our sincere friendship for the new democratic Poland.

We received from the most responsible Soviet source the assurance that, in the solution of the frontier problems after this war, Czechoslovakia had the right to insist on her pre-Munich frontiers and that, whatever solution might be reached with Poland, it could be effected only by mutual agreement. Consequently, we must reject any solution by force or any agitation detrimental to the mutual relations of the two States. The two Slav States of Poland and Czechoslovakia, which are dependent on each other, must live in friendship and concord. This was the spirit of our Moscow discussions on the Tešín problem.

We used the opportunity of our Moscow visit to explain to the Soviet and Polish statesmen the just claims of our people; in the first place, our claim to the Czech land of Kladsko (Glatz) as well as to Ratiborž and Hlubčicko (Leobschütz), where there is still a high percentage of Czech-speaking citizens and where substantial adjustments of the former Czechoslovak-German frontiers appear only natural. If Poland receives the large territory of Upper Silesia, not to mention East Prussia and Pomerania, rich in industry and coal, it is only just that an important Czechoslovak industrial centre such as Moravská Ostrava and Vítkovice should have a chance of breathing freely and be given the advantage of a connection with the Oder. The possibility of building a Morava-Oder canal must be taken into consideration in this connection; it would certainly also benefit Polish economy. These territorial demands by Czechoslovakia will be dealt with at the Peace Conference, and the Czechoslovak Government intends to insist on these comparatively modest claims, fully aware of its responsibilities and duties towards the State.

Moreover, we have explained to the Soviet statesmen that one of our most burning problems is to rid ourselves of our disloyal Hungarian and German minorities, and we have therefore asked, putting the same request to our other Allies, to be allowed to carry out an organized transfer of a considerable part of these minorities as soon as possible. The transfer to Germany concerns our Germans and, above all, those guilty of disloyalty to our State, and the transfer to Hungary concerns our disloyal Hungarian minority. The Germans living in the southern part of Bohemia and Moravia, who are of Austrian origin and still have close family and economic ties with Austria, may be transferred to Austria. In return, we desire that our important Czech minority in Vienna should be enabled to move as soon as possible to our country. To transfer our

disloyal minorities to Germany and Hungary or Austria is a very difficult task. Nevertheless, its realization is of vital importance to our State, for we wish to end finally and definitely all disputes of nationalities in our territory. We do not want the seed of conflict among nationalities, sown by hostile propaganda from abroad, ever again to germinate among our German and Hungarian minorities. We learnt in Moscow that in the problem of transfer Czechoslovakia can count on the full support of the Soviet Union. We hope for the same support from our other Allies, as already promised.

Another important point in our negotiations was the problem of the war booty which the Red Army justifiably claims. In the spirit of our original negotiations with the Soviet Government, we have asked that the competence of the Soviet military organizations in our territory should be precisely defined in this respect, so that no misunderstanding can arise. Stalin assured us that the export of all kinds of material from Czechoslovakia shall be immediately stopped, except when such material belongs to the Red Army or when an agreement has been reached with the Czechoslovak authorities in individual cases.

For this reason, all stores and works hitherto in the custody of the Red Army will be immediately released, except in cases where the property concerned can definitely be described as war booty. This will considerably ease our economic and supply situation. Marshal Stalin showed great interest in our supply situation. He also informed us that during the next few days he intended to concentrate all Soviet units in the frontier regions adjoining the German borders and the U.S. demarcation line. Thus there will, in due course, be no more Soviet garrison commands in the interior of our country. Only at some of the railway junctions will Soviet control organizations remain to safeguard the transport necessary for the Soviet Army. From this it logically follows that the U.S. Army, too, is to withdraw to the demarcation line originally laid down—behind our western frontiers—and that Pilsen, Budejovice and Krumlov will again be completely controlled by us as behoves an independent Allied State.

Our Minister for Foreign Trade, Dr. Hubert Ripka, had an opportunity to discuss with the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Trade Mikoyan the supply of raw material necessary for our industry. This mainly concerns ore, crude oil and cotton. Full support was promised by the Soviets.

Our public has already been informed of the important decision of our Government which, rightly understanding the wishes of our people, signed in Moscow an agreement concerning the cession of the Carpathian Ukraine—as our Sub-Carpathian Russia is called at present—to the Soviet Ukraine. We have successfully discussed all financial and economic questions and the right of option was guaranteed to the Czech and Slovak people living in the Carpathian Ukraine and also to all persons from the Carpathian Ukraine who have fought in our Army. This agreement has caused great enthusiasm in the Soviet Union, particularly in the Ukraine, and we can say that it has further strengthened the brotherly alliance which links us with our eastern Ally.

Our negotiations in Moscow were characterized by deep and sincere mutual friendship, so that the prospects of the future development of our mutual relations are most promising. From Soviet statesmen we have heard how greatly Soviet policy is interested in the harmonious development of both Soviet and Czechoslovak relations with the other western

Allies and the creation through common effort after this war of a safe basis for the World Security Organization in which all freedom-loving nations can take part. We have all brought home from Moscow the deep impression that we can rely on the safeguarding of peace and the close collaboration of all democratic States.

## DENMARK

*Flag:* Red, with white cross.

*Sovereign:* King Christian X of Denmark and Iceland. Born September 26, 1870. Succeeded to the throne, May 14, 1912. Married April 26, 1893, Alexandrine daughter of the late Grand Duke Franz of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Queen Alexandrine born December 24, 1879. Heir presumptive; Crown Prince Frederik. Born March 11, 1899. Married May 24, 1935, H.R.H. Princess Ingrid, born March 28, 1910, daughter of Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden, and has two daughters, Princesse Margrethe, born April 16, 1940, and Princess Benedikte, born April 29, 1944.

*Prime Minister:* Vilhelm Buhl, M.P.

*Foreign Minister:* J. Christmas Møller.

*Minister of Defence:* O. Bjørn Kraft, M.P.

*Minister of Finance:* H. C. Svane Hansen, M.P.

*Minister of Justice:* N. Busch Jensen.

*Minister of Interior:* Knud Kristensen, M.P.

*Minister of Labour and Social Affairs:* H. Hedtoft Hansen, M.P.

*Minister of Trade, Industry and Shipping:* V. Fibiger, M.P.

*Minister of Public Works:* Carl Petersen, M.P.

*Minister of Transport:* Alfred Jensen.

*Minister of Agriculture and Fishing:* Erik Eriksen, M.P.

*Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs:* Arne Sørensen, M.P.

*Minister of Education:* A. M. Hansen, M.P.

*Minister for Special Affairs:* Professor Mogens Fog.

*Minister without Portfolio:* Axel Larsen.

*Minister without Portfolio:* Juul Christensen.

*Minister without Portfolio:* Frode Jacobsen.

*Minister without Portfolio:* Henrik Kauffmann.

*Danish Minister in London:* Count Eduard V. S. C. Reventlow.

*Counsellor:* Gustav Rasmussen.

*First Secretary:* Count E. Knuth.

*Second Secretary:* Max Sørensen.

*Attaché:* T. Oldenburg.

*Naval Attaché:* Captain P. Lemcke.

*Press Attaché:* C. E. Aagaard.

*Agricultural Attaché:* Per Algot Moltesen.

*Legation:* 29 Pont Street, London, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 9891.

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- Politiken* (Labour.)  
*Berlingske Tidende.* (Conservative.)

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

*Flag:* Red and blue, with white cross.

*President and Generalissimo:* General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina (1942).

*Secretary of State for Treasury:* M. Troncoso Sanchez.

*Secretary for War and Navy:* Major-General Hector Trujillo Molina.

*Secretary for Foreign Affairs:* Manuel Arturo Peña Battle.

*Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London:* Dr. Don Ricardo Perez Alfonseca.

*Legation:* 67 Eaton Place, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 6727.

*British Minister Resident and Consul at Ciudad Trujillo:* C. F. W. Andrews.

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## ECUADOR

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, yellow, blue, and red (the yellow band is twice as wide as the others).

*President:* J. M. Velasco Ibama.

*Minister of the Interior:* C. Guevara Moreno.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* C. Ponsce Enriquez.

*Minister of Public Works:* J. Montero Vela.

*Minister of Economy:* Simon David Zevallos.

*Minister of the Treasury:* M. Suarez Vinumilla.

*Minister of National Defence:* Colonel C. Manchaeno.

*Minister of Education:* J. Chaves.

*Minister of Social Welfare:* Soria Roldos.

*Legation in London:* 21 Cavendish Square, London, W.1. *Tel.:* Langham 2411.

*Chargé d'Affaires:* Alberto Puig-Arosemena.

*British Minister in Ecuador:* Leslie Hughes-Haller.

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#### EGYPT

*Flag:* Green, with one white crescent (convex side to flagstaff), and three five-pointed white stars (arranged in an equilateral triangle) between the horns.

*Sovereign:* King Farouk I of Egypt, Sovereign of Nubia, the Sudan, of Kordofan and of Darfur. Born February 11, 1920. Succeeded his father, King Fuad I, April 28, 1936; attained majority, February 11, 1937; married January 20, 1938, to Sazi Naz, daughter of Youssef Zulficar Pasha (Queen Farida). Has issue: Princess Ferial, born November 17, 1938; Princess Fawzieh, born April 7, 1940.

*Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior:* Mahmoud Fahmy El Nokrashy Pasha.

*Minister of Finance:* Makram Abried Pasha.

*Minister of Public Works:* Mahmoud Ghaleb Pasha.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Abdel Hamid Badawy Pasha.

*Minister of Wakfs:* Moustapha Abdel Razek Pasha.

*Minister of Justice:* Hafez Ramadan Pasha.

*Minister of Public Health:* Ibrahim Abdel Hady Pasha.

*Minister of Communications:* Ibrahim Dessouky Abaza Pasha.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Ahmed Abdel Ghaffar Pasha.

*Minister of National Defence:* Maître Sayed Selim.

*Minister of Education:* Abdel Razzak El Sanhoury Bey.

*Minister of Supply:* Taha El Sebay Bey.

*Minister of State:* Ragheb Hanna Bey.

*Minister of Commerce and Industry:* Hefny Mahmoud Bey.

*Minister of Social Affairs:* Maître Abdel Magid Badr.

*Egyptian Ambassador in London:* Abdel Fattah Amr Pasha.

*Egyptian Embassy in London:* 75 South Audley Street, London, W.1. Tel.: Grosvenor 2401.

*Egyptian Institute in London:* 4 Chesterfield Gardens, London, W.1.

*British Ambassador in Egypt:* Rt. Hon. Lord Killearn.

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## REPUBLICA DE EL SALVADOR

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, light blue, white, light blue.

*President:* Miguel Thomas Molina (1944).

*Foreign Affairs:* Sr. Dr. Miguel Angel Araujo.

*Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:* Dr. Arturo Ramon Avila.

*Interior:* General José Tomas Calderon.

*Finance:* Dr. Rodrigo Samoya.

*National Defence:* General Andres Ignatio Menendez.

*Minister in London:* Dr. R. Contreras.

*Consulate General in London:* 19 Helena Court, Eaton Rise, Ealing, W.5.

*Consul General:* Jorge Dawson.

*British Envoy in Salvador:* John Hurleston Leche. (*See Guatemala*.)

*Chargé d'Affaires in Salvador:* E. J. Joint.

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## ETHIOPIA

*Flag*: Three horizontal bands: green, yellow, red.

*Sovereign*: Haile Selassie, Negusa Nagasth (King of Kings), Emperor of Ethiopia, born July 17, 1891. Son of Ras Makonnen, Great Nephew of Emperor Menelik. The Empress Waizeru Zauditu proclaimed him Heir Apparent on her accession to the throne in 1916. He succeeded her in 1939. In 1936 deposed by the Italians. Re-entered his capital, Addis Ababa, on May 5, 1941. Married in 1911: Empress Manen.

*Crown Prince*: Asfawessen, born in 1916.

*Ethiopian Government*:

*Prime Minister*: Bitwoded Makonen Endalkatchew.

*Minister of the Pen and of the Interior*: Tsahafe Tazaz Wolde-Guorguis.

*Minister of War*: Ras Abebe Aregai.

*Minister of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture*: Ato Makonen Habte-Wold.

*Minister of Justice*: Afe-Masfin Andargatchew Massai.

*Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones*: Ato Makonen Desta.

*Vice-Minister of Finance*: Ato Yilma Deressa.

*Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs*: Ato Aklilu Habte-Wold.

*Vice-Minister of Communications*: Blata Zauze Belaineh.

*Director-General of Education*: Ato Emmanuel Abraham.

*Ethiopian Minister in London*: Blata Ayele Ghabré, 6 Princes Gate, S.W.7.

*Tel.*: Ken. 1144.

*British Minister to Ethiopia*: R. G. Howe.

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## ETHIOPIA LIBERATED

By H.I.M. HAILE SELASSIE

WHEN Italy began to make a war of aggression on Ethiopia, although we knew we were not as well armed as she was, we went against her with what strength we could muster because it was our duty to resist an enemy that had come to seize our country. But as it was apparent that she was bent on exterminating our people with poison gas, the use of which was prohibited by international law, we went to appeal to the League of Nations and to claim justice. As it was feared that this hostility started by Italy might spread all over the world, and as it was a period when all those who were charged with the responsibility of government were trying to save the world from the catastrophe which has since befallen it, they were working to bring about understanding in the world to prevent the spread of the conflagration. At that time our true friend, Great Britain, received us with sympathy. I remained there working, but constantly being in spirit with my countrymen, whose blood was being uselessly, unjustly and ruthlessly shed at the hands of the Italians; with the monasteries and churches that were being burned down, with those forced to take refuge in foreign lands and with those suffering and being afflicted in the wilderness, in the caves and in the forests of their native land.

How many are the young men, the women, the priests and the monks whom the Italians pitilessly massacred during these years? It is known that in Addis Ababa alone many thousands perished during the three days following St. Michael's Day in Yekatit, 1929 (February 19, 1937). The blood and the bones of those who were killed with spades and pick-axes, of those who were split with axes and hammered to death, pierced with bayonets, clubbed and stoned, of those who were burnt alive with their little children in their homes, of those who perished of hunger and thirst in prison, have been crying for justice. Everybody knows that this act of barbarism and cruelty was not perpetrated in Addis Ababa alone, but more especially in the provinces of Ethiopia. There is hardly anyone who has not been caught and beaten, kicked, humiliated and imprisoned.

Now we shall pass on to the new history. When the fascist forces entered our capital city, Mussolini announced to the world that he had established a Roman Empire in our country, Ethiopia. He believed that

the land he declared he had conquered would for ever be in his hands. The heroism of the Ethiopian people is known in history. But, as we had no port through which to import modern armaments necessary for our people, we were unable to obtain them. Fifty-two nations condemned Mussolini for his deed. But he took pride in his violence and no notice of their condemnation. In the end the Ethiopians were able to destroy the enemy, who was superior to them in number and equipment, because they are a brave people.

The British troops who were fighting for human rights on other fronts of the war needed time to come to the assistance of Ethiopia and free her. When the time came, our great Ally launched a proper attack against our enemy. As soon as I knew this, I left the distant land of the Sudan which borders on Ethiopia in the west and entered Central Gojjam, where the enemy had strong fortified positions, powerful troops, aeroplanes and artillery. We had one soldier for every twenty of his. Moreover, we had no artillery and aircraft that we could dispose of. The fact that I was found in the midst of my warriors at once attracted many thousand men. And the fear and anxiety of our enemy increased accordingly. While my soldiers were harassing and cutting the enemy's communications, and, after having driven his troops across the Abbay (Blue Nile), were pursuing them towards Shoa and Begamder, I heard the good news that the British Imperial troops had with incomparable speed occupied our capital city and were pushing towards Dessié in the north and Jimma in the south. Troops started from the Sudan and destroyed the fortress of Keren and routed the enemy. The time came for my return to Addis Ababa.

The tribulations and afflictions which befell us during five years and which cannot be recounted and numbered in detail will be a great lesson to us all, and, with industry, unity, co-operation and love will be a great incentive to the Ethiopians to be my helpers in the affairs of our country. In the New Ethiopia I want them to be a people undivided and endowed with freedom and equality before the law. They will have to join me in my efforts for the prosperity of the country, for the riches of the people, for the development of agriculture, commerce, education and learning, for the protection of the life and resources of our people, and for the perfection on modern lines of the administration of the country.

It is my firm wish and purpose to merit the blessing with which God in His mercy has visited us, by showing our gratitude to our allies, the British, by the release of the Imperial troops to fight the common enemy on other fronts and by supplying them with troops whenever they may be needed. As St. George who killed the dragon is the patron saint of our army as well as of our allies, we will unite with them in everlasting friendship in order to be able to stand against the godless and cruel dragon which has newly risen and which is oppressing mankind.

## FRANCE

*Flag:* Blue, red and white tricolour.

*Provisional Government:*

*President:* General Charles de Gaulle.

*Minister of State and President of the Senate:* M. Jules Jeanneney.

*Minister of Justice:* M. Pierre-Henri Tietgen.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* M. Georges Bidault.

*Minister of the Interior:* M. Adrien Tixier.

*Minister for War:* M. André Diethelm.

*Minister of Marine:* M. Louis Jacquinot.

*Minister for Air:* M. Charles Tillon.

*Minister for National Economy and Finance:* M. René Pleven.

*Minister for Production:* M. René Lacoste.

*Minister for Agriculture:* M. Pierre Tanguy-Prigent.

*Minister of Information:* M. Jacques Soustelle.

*Minister of Labour and Social Security:* M. Alexandre Parodi.

*Minister of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones:* M. Eugene Thomas.

*Minister of Health:* M. François Billoux.

*Minister for Prisoners, Deportees and Refugees:* M. Henri Frenay.

*Minister for Food:* M. Christian Pineau.

*Minister for Colonies:* M. Paul Giacobbi.

*Minister for Education:* M. René Capitant.

*Minister for Reconstruction:* M. Raoul Dautry.

*Minister for Transport:* M. René Mayer.

*French Ambassador to the United Kingdom:* H. E. M. René Massigli.

*Minister Plenipotentiary and First Counsellor:* M. Jacques Camille Paris.

*Embassy:* 3 Carlton Gardens, London, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whitehall 5444.

*British Ambassador to France:* Alfred Duff Cooper, P.C., M.P., D.S.O.

*French Institutions in London:*

Alliance Française, Imperial House, 80 Regent Street, W.1. *Tel.:* Regent 0868.

Chamber of Commerce, 3 Cavendish Square, W.1.

The French in Great Britain, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, S.W.1.  
*Tel.:* Abbey 3841.

French Hospital, 172 Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.1.

French Institute: 15 Queensberry Place, S.W.7. *Tel.:* Ken. 6211.

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## VICTORY

BY GENERAL DE GAULLE

VICTORY is on a scale equal to that of the war! Germany wanted the struggle to be a total struggle—politically, materially and morally. Victory therefore had to be a total victory. This has been achieved! The German Reich has been utterly destroyed, as a State, as a Power and as a doctrine. It has been proved, once again, that the appetite for domination, even of a very powerful and determined people, may gain for it some more or less brilliant and prolonged successes, but finally it leads to collapse. It is not yet time—with the ink on the double capitulation of Rheims and Berlin scarcely dry—to recall the various changes of fortune and the magnitude of events; and, *a fortiori*, their consequences, alas! can only be measured in the perspective of time.

One thing is certain: France staked in this war all she had. She staked not only her existence as a nation, but also the physical and moral destiny of some of her children, and she won! But if France was exposed to the greatest possible perils, understanding that it could not be otherwise, strategically, by its very nature, French soil had to play a capital part in the struggle. It was on French soil that the enemy first gained victory and it was on French soil that his defeat was decided. How would the struggle have developed had German might been able to make use of all the French African possessions? But how great has been the importance of our North Africa as a starting base for Europe's liberation! In the political field, France had to be laid low if the Germans were to put into effect their horrible plan of transforming Europe into an Empire of masters and vassals.

In fact, hardly had Paris been taken than Italy and Spain were drawn into the orbit of corruption; the Balkans were at Germany's mercy and it seemed possible to attempt Russia's destruction. Morally it depended on France whether the monstrous conceptions inspiring the doctrines, actions, organization and conduct of National Socialism should take on the character of universality or remain merely the degrading tools of crime and oppression. Actually, all the geographical, material and spiritual elements that make up France caused us to remain in the fore-

front of events, whatever our temporary fate, and to run the greatest perils. Nevertheless, military misfortunes, the failure of our institutions, violence and lies could not enslave our national instinct, could not impede our action, could not impose silence on us, could not prevent us winning! Already on September 3rd, 1939, we had drawn the sword, alone with Britain, to defend violated right, in the shape of Poland. Oh! we knew full well the disproportion of strength; we knew how much we were weakened by the unrepaired and uncompensated losses of the previous war; we knew we had no natural protection against the irruption of German mechanized might. We knew all about the fatal disunity of the democracies. There was no lack of proposals, of assurances, of promises from the enemy; at home we had often been advised to give up and we would have been pressed into neutrality. But we did not wait to be attacked or invaded to take, willingly, the greatest risk in our history. We did this not because we dreamed of conquest, nor in revenge, nor out of vanity. We did this because we followed our eternal call to lead a civilization based on the rights of peoples and on respect for the human being. Whatever we had to pay and even if these services and merits may seem to-day of moderate weight, we do not regret having set this example.

However, the shock—a lightning shock—inflicted by German mechanical might upon our military system, the impotence of a régime which was not equal to such great trials, the tension, confusion, surrender—under the sign of an ambiguous and senile glory—subjected France to the darkness of oppression. Amidst this destruction, she was left with nothing to fight with except the deep and spontaneous strength of her people.

It remained to be seen whether, starting from scratch and being opposed, not only by the enemy, his strength and his achievements, but also by the entire weight of authority—usurped, it is true, but painted over with a coating of law—it remained to be seen whether she could produce from within herself the strength that would enable her to stay in the struggle and to rebuild in the depths of the abyss, the State, national strength and unity. Alas! it remained to be seen whether France, in the midst of such a drama, would become master of her destiny. Never before in twenty centuries of an existence marked by immense sorrows was the nation faced with such a situation, and of the other nations whose territories were also submerged by the German might not one was so greatly despoiled, since the legitimate holders of State authority in each of these countries took it beyond the reach of the enemy.

The effort was undertaken as planned, so that there should be no interruption in France's status as a belligerent. Those who took part in this effort did not cease even for a moment to be inspired by the ardent, untiring and shining conviction which brushes aside all obstacles and draws its inspiration only from the very soul of the mother country. To achieve this aim, it was, however, necessary that throughout the effort should consist, not of contributions by groups of Frenchmen to the struggle waged by the Great Powers, but should be a national effort, a single, independent and sovereign effort. It was necessary that this action should include the interior as well as the exterior; it was necessary that it should rise above all individual tendencies, plans and parties. It was necessary that it should know but one law—that which the country conferred on itself when it was free. It was necessary that, successively and as the war went on, all citizens, all energies and territories be assembled for this

effort, so that in the end France should stand erect with but a single sword, a single territory, a single justice, and a single law.

Ah, I know quite well that this centralizing sternness might have seemed a heavy burden to such and a such a group, that the centrifugal tendencies might evoke parallel—that is, separate—action; I well know that this desire for independence and sovereignty might several times have offended one or other of our allies, but it was necessary, at all costs, that this effort should not be divided, that France should remain indivisible. And when in Rheims and in Berlin our generals, with their American, Soviet and British comrades, received the unconditional surrender of the Reich and its armies, France was indeed one of the Powers to which Germany capitulated.

However, the only road that could lead us there was the road of battle. The only contribution we could offer to the common struggle, the only cement of national unity, the only expression of our determination to win, were the exploits and the lives of our combatants.

Great and heavy indeed were the difficulties of waging the struggle. The official apparatus of the administration and command was either switched against the war or paralysed by orders for inaction; means of independent production of armament and equipment were almost entirely destroyed; communications were cut under threat of death between the nation and those who from afar held the stump of her sword, the complexities of our Allies' varied help—such were the conditions under which France's military effort was developed and conducted.

As we look back, the feats of arms of certain heroic units, whose glory will remain among the greatest of our military history, have upheld in Eritrea, Libya, in the Orient, in the Fezzan, on all seas and in all the skies, the glory of France's arms and thus form a link between the past and the future. Let us remember the great battles of Tunisia and Italy, where our renascent armies, in the midst of those of the United States and the British Empire, played such a glorious and efficient part. Let us remember the gigantic battle of France, in which our armies did not cease to strike harder and yet harder, day after day, in obstinate and noble loyalty, whether they came from the Empire, to break, side by side with our Allies, all the German defences between the Mediterranean and the Channel up to the Rhine, or whether they were formed in Metropolitan France in clandestine valour, to paralyse by small-scale actions the entire enemy communications system. Let us visualize the final and victorious onslaught, in which our armies, finally welded together, drove the routed enemy before them to the very heart of Germany and into Austria, and at the same time wrested from him the fortified passes of the Alps and compelled the enemy, entrenched all along the Atlantic coast, to capitulate.

However, when recalling these magnificent actions, which day after day filled the mother country with pride and hope, one can also imagine what untiring efforts of organization, adaptation and discipline had to be applied from top to bottom to forge piece by piece from so many different and dispersed elements a military instrument, from which leaders—whose names will remain forever glorious—obtained so many brilliant results.

True, at every stage of the road the courage of the living was stirred by the example of those who fell. Soldiers fallen in the desert, in the moun-

tains or in the plains; drowned seamen, rocked for ever in the cradle of the ocean; airmen who crashed to their deaths from the skies; combatants killed in the *maquis* or before the firing-squad: it is you who inspired courage, who strengthened our resolve and hallowed our efforts; it is you who inspired all the men and women who by their acts and devotion have triumphed over despair and fought for the mother country. You became the leaders of that magnificent force of the sons and daughters of France who proved her greatness under fire on the battlefields, in the agony of the dungeons, under the worst tortures and humiliations of the deportee camps. All of you who uttered the word 'France' with your last breath have been the cause of our pride, you have soothed our sorrows and your glory will remain the companion of our hopes.

But if it is true that we are now able, without lowering our heads, to cast a glance at the road we travelled, we have been fairly long and sufficiently well used to victories not to let ourselves be intoxicated by this victory. In a war which started with a terrible disaster, once France was able to emerge with the help of her powerful Allies, she could contemplate with a clear vision the depths in which she nearly foundered, the bitter errors—her own and those of others—which hurled her into that abyss, and, finally, the extraordinary combination of circumstances which enabled her to emerge from it. Looking at the past, she takes stock of all the illusions, divisions, weaknesses which were the origin of the disaster which very nearly caused her to perish. Looking into the future, she realizes how long and hard is the effort she must make to assure her destiny in a world in full fermentation and to become sufficiently strong, fraternal and populous to play, for the benefit of mankind, a part which we can see the world considers indispensable.

Victory is not an end for the Fourth Republic. It is a starting-point. Forward then! Forward for work, unity and renovation! May this new victory be the sign of our new rise!

## GREAT BRITAIN

*Sovereign:* George VI. King of Great Britain, Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Sea. Emperor of India. Born in 1895. Succeeded to the throne in 1936. Married in 1923 Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne, Queen Elizabeth, born in 1900. Heiress Presumptive: Princess Elizabeth. Born in 1926. Princess Margaret Rose. Born in 1930.

*The Cabinet:*

*Prime Minister:* Mr. Clement Attlee.

*Lord President of the Council:* Mr. Herbert Morrison.

*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:* Mr. Ernest Bevin.

*Lord Privy Seal:* Mr. Arthur Greenwood.

*Chancellor of the Exchequer:* Mr. Hugh Dalton.

*President of the Board of Trade:* Sir Stafford Cripps, K.C.

*First Lord of the Admiralty:* Mr. A. V. Alexander.

*Lord Chancellor:* Lord Jowitt.

*Secretary of State for the Home Department:* Mr. Chuter Ede.  
*Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs:* Viscount Addison.  
*Secretary of State for India and for Burma:* Mr. Perthick-Lawrence.  
*Secretary of State for the Colonies:* Mr. G. H. Hall.  
*Secretary of State for War:* Mr. J. J. Lawson.  
*Secretary of State for Air:* Viscount Stansgate.  
*Secretary of State for Scotland:* Mr. J. Westwood.  
*Minister of Labour and National Service:* Mr. G. A. Isaacs.  
*Minister of Fuel and Power:* Mr. Shinwell.  
*Minister of Education:* Miss Ellen Wilkinson.  
*Minister of Health:* Mr. Aneurin Bevan.  
*Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries:* Mr. Tom Williams.

*Ministers of Cabinet Rank:*

*Minister of Supply and Aircraft Production:* Mr. John Wilmot.  
*Minister of War Transport:* Mr. Alfred Barnes.  
*Minister of Food:* Sir Ben Smith.  
*Minister of State:* Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker.  
*Minister of Pensions:* Mr. Wilfred Paling.  
*Minister of Works:* Mr. George Tomlinson.  
*Minister of Town and Country Planning:* Mr. Lewis Silkin.  
*Minister of National Insurance:* Mr. James Griffiths.  
*Minister of Civil Aviation:* Lord Winstor.  
*Minister of Information:* Mr. E. J. Williams.  
*Postmaster-General:* The Earl of Listowel.  
*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster:* Mr. J. B. Hynd.

*Law Officers:*

*Attorney-General:* Mr. H. W. Shawcross, K.C.  
*Solicitor-General:* Major Frank Soskice.  
*Lord Advocate:* Mr. George Reid Thomson.

*Junior Ministers:*

*Admiralty, Civil Lord:* Mr. W. J. Edwards.  
*Financial Secretary:* Mr. John Dugdale.  
*Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Parliamentary Secretary:* The Earl of Huntingdon.  
*Air Ministry, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Wing Commander John Strachey.  
*Ministry of Civil Aviation, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. Ivor Thomas.  
*Colonial Office, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Mr. A. Creech Jones.  
*Dominions Office, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Mr. John Parker.  
*Ministry of Education, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. Arthur Jenkins.  
*Ministry of Food, Parliamentary Secretary:* Dr. Edith Summerskill.  
*Foreign Office, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Mr. Hector McNeil.



*Ministry of Fuel and Power, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. William Foster.  
*General Post Office, Assistant Postmaster-General:* Mr. Wilfred Andrew Burke.  
*Ministry of Health, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. C. W. Key.  
*Home Office, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Mr. G. H. Oliver.  
*India Office and Burma Office, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Mr. Arthur Henderson, K.C.  
*Ministry of Labour and National Service, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. Ness Edwards.  
*Ministry of National Insurance, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. G. S. Lindgren.  
*Ministry of Pensions, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mrs. J. L. Adamson.  
*Scottish Office, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretaries of State:* Mr. George Buchanan, Mr. Thomas Fraser.  
*Ministry of Supply and Aircraft Production, Parliamentary Secretaries:* Mr. William Leonard, Mr. Arthur Woodburn.  
*Ministry of Town and Country Planning, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. Fred Marshall.  
*Board of Trade, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. Ellis Smith.  
*Secretary, Department of Overseas Trade:* Mr. H. A. Marquand.  
*H.M. Treasury, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. William Whiteley.  
*Financial Secretary:* Mr. W. G. Hall.  
*Lords Commissioners:* Mr. Frank Collindridge, Captain Arthur Plunkinsop, Mr. Robert Michael Maitland Stewart, Mr. R. J. Taylor, Mr. J. Henderson.  
*War Office, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State:* Lord Nathan.  
*Financial Secretary:* Mr. F. J. Bellenger.  
*Ministry of War Transport, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. G. R. Strauss.  
*Ministry of Works, Parliamentary Secretary:* Mr. J. H. Wilson.  
*H.M. Household, Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms:* Lord Ammon.  
*Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard:* Lord Walkden.  
*Treasurer:* Mr. George Mathers.  
*Comptroller:* Mr. Arthur Pearson.

*Government Offices:*

*Prime Minister:* 10 Downing Street, S.W.1.  
*Lord President of the Council:* Great George Street, Whitehall, S.W.1.  
*Foreign Secretary:* Foreign Office, Downing Street, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 8440.  
*Chancellor of the Exchequer:* Treasury, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 1234.  
*Minister of Reconstruction:* Richmond Terrace, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 5422.  
*Minister of Production:* Great George Street, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Abb. 5678.  
*Minister of Labour and National Service:* St. James's Square, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 6200.  
*Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security:* Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 8100.  
*First Lord of the Admiralty:* Admiralty, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 9000.  
*Secretary for War:* War Office, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whi. 9400.

- Secretary for Air*: Air Ministry, King Charles Street, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Hol. 3434.  
*Secretary for Civil Aviation*: Ariel House, Strand, W.C.2.  
*Lord Privy Seal*: Gwydyr House, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 5422.  
*Minister of Aircraft Production*: Ministry of Aircraft Production, Millbank, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Fra. 2211.  
*Minister of Supply*: Shell-Mex House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.2. *Tel.*: Ger. 6933.  
*Lord Chancellor*: Treasury, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 1234.  
*Secretary for Dominions*: Dominions Office, Downing Street, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 9191.  
*Secretary for Colonies*: Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 9191.  
*Food Minister*: Portman Court, Portman Square, W.1. *Tel.*: Wel. 5500.  
*President, Board of Trade*: Millbank, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 5140.  
*Minister of Health*: Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 9060.  
*Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries*: 55 Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 3400.  
*Minister of War Transport*: Berkeley Square House, W.1. *Tel.*: Abb. 7711.  
*Minister of Information*: Malet Street, W.C.1. *Tel.*: Eus. 4321.  
*Minister of Town and Country Planning*: 32 St. James's Square, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 8411.  
*Secretary for India and Burma*: India Office, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 8140.  
*Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster*: Treasury Chambers, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 1234.  
*Secretary for Scotland*: Scottish Office, Whitehall, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Whi. 7464.  
*Minister of Economic Warfare*: Berkeley Square House, W.1. *Tel.*: Gro. 4060.  
*Minister of Education*: Belgrave Square, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Slo. 4522.  
*Minister of Works*: Lambeth Bridge House, Albert Embankment, S.E.1. *Tel.*: Rel. 7611.  
*Minister of Fuel and Power*: 1 Millbank, S.W.1.  
*Minister of Pensions*: 18 Great Smith Street, S.W.1. *Tel.*: Abb. 1200.  
*Postmaster-General*: G.P.O., St. Martin's-le-Grand, E.C.1. *Tel.*: Hea. 1234.  
*Paymaster-General*: Somerset House, W.C. *Tel.*: Tem. 3540.

## THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION

By PHILIP NOEL-BAKER

*Minister of State*

THE United Nations Association to whom I pledge the wholehearted and unreserved support of H.M.'s Government is the lineal successor of the League of Nations Union.

The Union began its history with twelve members, who, at their first meeting, recorded the election of two more. It came to have half a million paying members on its books.

The Association begins with many thousands; there are no limits to the strength it may attain.

It is a national movement, pledged to maintain and strengthen the Charter, without fear or favour, against all its foes.

It is part of an international movement; my honoured colleague, Mr. Stettinius, has told you that already the Charter is in force; it is by his efforts that that miracle has been achieved. He speaks for the generous nation whose greatest President once said that Right makes Might.

He speaks also for the fifty nations over whose labours he presided. The help of all those nations, great and small, will be needed if this movement is to succeed. The movement starts, as the Union started, as the League of Nations started, under Lord Cecil's inspiring hand.

I sat behind him in the Hotel Crillon when the Covenant was made. If, twenty-five years later amid Hitler's chaos, we have the faith to try again, it is to his vision and his courage that that is due. Twenty years ago he resigned his public office for the cause of peace; yet I believe that when many of our great ones are forgotten, history will proclaim him a leader among the great creative statesmen of the age.

What is this Charter, on which the hopes of five Continents depend?

Its purpose is very simple; it is to ensure that the atomic bomb which fell on Nagasaki is the last that is ever used in war. It is to abolish war among the nations, now in our generation, and for ever more.

It is to promote the common interests of nations.

Every Member is pledged to refrain from the threat or use of force against another State. It is pledged to take effective collective measures to prevent or to remove a threat to peace, or to suppress aggression. It is pledged to promote by common action the common interests, economic, social, cultural, which the nations share.

In other words, the Charter makes aggressive war a crime against mankind; it establishes instead the rule of law. It enshrines the principle laid down twelve years ago by the spokesman of the Soviet Union: that peace is indivisible; it adds the new principle, that prosperity and moral and intellectual progress are indivisible as well.

Those basic principles, on which the whole system of the Charter is built, are to be applied by a system of standing political institutions.

The Assembly of the League of Nations, the meeting place of all the nations, became a mighty forum for the opinion of the world. Working in public by the method of Parliamentary debate, the Assembly, in ten years, built up its own strength and the strength of all the Institutions, the Council, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Secretariat (that is the International Civil Service) and the rest.

In the Assembly, Lord Cecil brought policy after policy to success—the admission of the Press to all debates; the rights of the smaller nations; the development of international co-operation in health, and transport and communications and other spheres, an ever widening obligatory jurisdiction for the Court; the international loyalty of the Secretariat.

I am certain that the new Assembly of the United Nations will build on the experience of that first ten years.

Beside the Assembly, the Charter sets up a Security Council, to settle international disputes, to organize collective strength against aggression, to draw up Agreements with each nation about the forces it will contribute to defeat aggressors, to deal with the problem of competitive

national armaments, which in the past have been so powerful a cause of war.

The Charter also establishes a Trusteeship Council to supervise the administration of territories under trust, and to ensure that the interests of backward peoples shall be preserved.

It sets up an International Secretariat to save these various organs—an international civil service, which, under the Charter, must be loyal, not to any national Government, but to the United Nations as a whole.

Attached to the Charter is a statute, creating—or rather re-creating—an International Court of Justice.

Then there is set up machinery to deal with economic and social problems, freedom from want, public health, full employment, transport and other international problems which must be solved by international action or not at all. They may bring untold blessing to mankind.

The first Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organisation at Quebec has the declared purpose to abolish hunger from every land, and to free mankind from all the illness and disease which malnutrition causes.

Consider these facts. A large proportion of all the human race eat less food than they require. In Britain 43 per cent. of our population were undernourished before the war; in the United States the figure was 34 per cent. In some great countries many have always lived near the margin of starvation. But two-thirds of the human race live and work on the land. They work in agriculture, in the fields, in the dairy farm, in the forests, and on the hills. Their produce could, no doubt, be doubled by modern science. In Quebec we shall set up a new machine to match the needs of hungry children with the doubled products of the farms. There will be no limit to our ambitions. President Roosevelt set up the Tennessee Valley Association, the great Authority which tamed the floods of the Tennessee River; produced electric power by the million horsepower; reclaimed and irrigated hundreds of thousands of acres; stopped soil erosion, brought new wealth and happiness and welfare to scores of thousands of citizens of the United States. There are twelve hundred rivers in the world which need a T.V.A., and which can only obtain one by international co-operation.

We are encouraged by the work accomplished by the first of them to function—I mean by U.N.R.R.A. U.N.R.R.A.'s help is pouring in to stricken Europe.

Now I will tell you what the Government think about these institutions, how we mean to use them, in what spirit we approach their work. We believe that all the members of the United Nations, and above all the Allies who helped us in the war, are resolutely resolved to carry out the pledges they have made in full good faith as we intend to their pledges, to settle their disputes by peaceful means; to refrain from the threat or use of force; to help in effective measures to prevent or to suppress aggression; to work together in all spheres for their common good.

We are going in to these institutions, to the Assembly and the Councils, not to play power politics, but to set up the rule of law.

We shall not back our Allies, right or wrong. We shall not seek to enhance our national prestige, or to win successes by secret bargains that are not fair to all.

We shall remember Lord Cecil's adjuration to the Council in the First Assembly of the League: 'Be just and fear not.'

We shall work for justice, and we shall do so in the light of day. If

they work in that spirit, these institutions of the Charter will live and grow. They will grow in strength till no nation will dare, or will desire, to flout them.

Ah, say the critics, how can you say such things, when the Charter is as gravely imperfect as it is? Well, there are defects in the Charter; of course there are: that's why the Resolution pledges us to strengthen it. But the Charter itself provides that a Conference may be held to review its terms whenever two-thirds of the Assembly and seven members of the Security Council so desire.

No doubt some day we shall improve the Charter. No one doubts that it will be useful so to do. But let no one think that it is machinery which can save us. It was not the law or the machinery which failed before. It was the resolution of the governments when the crisis came.

In the future, as in the past, there will be obscurantist opposition; there will be vested interests who, with facile phrases, will urge again the policies which we know will lead to war.

There will be the cynics, the pessimists, the self-styled realists, the practical men, who know that international institutions can not be made to work, who know that wars will still go on for centuries, that stable peace is still a dream, that the atomic bomb will make no greater difference than aircraft or T.N.T.; that, of course, some counter-measure is certain to be found. They have begun to talk already, these realists, in more continents than one. I would like to raise a charitable fund to take them all to visit Hiroshima. They are wrong in every way. They believe, like Hitler, that what is ignoble and cowardly in human nature is more important than what is noble and generous and strong.

They were the very architects of ruin between the wars. They sapped the moral forces, and undermined the faith, by which the League could have been carried through the hours of danger to success. I hope we shall never tolerate them again.

The last post-war generation listened too readily to their talk. I hope the young men and women who have survived this struggle will never tolerate again the paralysing and pusillanimous belief that because a monstrous evil has cursed the past, it must the future too.

The atomic bomb will make no difference? That is not what Sir John Anderson, the Chairman of the Government Committee, has to say: 'We have, I think, been rather slow to grasp the full implications of this momentous development. A world peopled by men who have atomic energy at their disposal is bound to be quite a different place from the old world with which we are so familiar. The development calls for nothing less than a complete readjustment of all international relations and for the framing of a new order society.'

A scientist who helped to make the bomb told me the other day that it would be quite easy to make another a thousand times as powerful as the first. And he added: 'It would make short work of London.' And perhaps you wouldn't even require aircraft to start your war—it's not beyond imagination that a hundred tourists should leave a hundred suit-cases in railway stations, and a hundred cities would simply cease to be.

Is it to war like that that the genius of our men of science must be given? Is there nothing better we can do with the triumphs which they win?

Joliot Curie told Leon Blum that at Havre the Germans had collected 300 tons of uranium for their atomic work. With the energy we could

now release for that 300 tons, all the power stations in the world could be driven for 100 years.

Atomic energy might wholly replace coal and oil, and give us hope of a measureless improvement in human life.

New substances like penicillin may defeat new groups of illness and disease. Malaria may be wiped out, as typhus has been largely mastered by D.D.T.

Rocket development may give us postal services of a revolutionary kind. New substances to make plants grow, potatoes as large as marrows, wheat which atomically rejects the parasites which now attack it, a complete cure for baldness.

As Sir John Anderson makes clear, we stand at a turning point in human history to-day. We have a plain choice before us: total destruction by the old policies, or total peace by the new.

It is clear that all nations have an overmastering common interest to choose the new; to abandon rivalry and conflict, and to work together for the general prosperity of all.

I believe the task of this Association is very simple. It is to destroy for ever some of the false ideas—the Unseen Assassins, Norman Angell called them—from which wars have always sprung.

And men are ready for them to be destroyed. No one thinks of national greatness in terms of conquest any more. We are beginning to see that if other nations become richer we grow richer too. The T.V.A., with its mighty dams and power stations, was opposed by the coal industry of the United States—now they see that the whole nation is wealthier than it was before. But I hope the Association will not try to win opinion by an appeal to material interests alone. This is a moral issue before all else. Is armed force to rule in men's affairs? We were well on the way to the right answer ten years ago. Has Hitler changed all that?

It is said that it took a Roosevelt to make the United States dam-minded. It would be tragic if so despicable a figure as Adolf Hitler had made the peaceful nations power-minded. Hitler may or may not be dead; but he will be at our heels for all our lives unless we kill the ideas of power and terror for which he stood.

Let no one think that the Association's job is easy. Hard and unremitting labour by its members will be required. It may take them decades to complete their job. To pass the next few months will not be easy. We are on the threshold of the seventh winter of the war. Hunger and pestilence will scourge the world; grave international problems are still unsolved. International institutions could hardly start in worse conditions. But, as General de Gaulle once said, the worse the situation, the simpler the way out.

We must hold fast by one fundamental fact. In the last result, opinion is the sovereign of the world. The United Nations will succeed if the peoples are determined that it shall. And who can doubt that all but maniacs now desire that law and justice shall take the place of war? The Hitler epoch has been called the Revolution of Nihilism—he deliberately strove to smash every moral standard of every kind. He has failed. As a greater German, Immanuel Kant, said long ago, man cannot get away from the idea of right. If our great nations stand in future for the idea of right through the United Nations, they will lead the peoples from the present chaos to the new age of happiness and peace.

## COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

*Governor-General:* H.R.H. The Duke of Gloucester.

*Government:*

*Prime Minister and Treasurer:* Mr. J. B. Chifley.

*Minister for the Army:* Mr. F. M. Forde.

*Minister for Defence:* Mr. J. A. Beasley.

*Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs:* Dr. H. V. Evatt.

*Minister for Supply and Shipping:* Senator W. P. Ashley.

*Minister for the Navy and Minister for Munitions:* Mr. N. J. O. Makin.

*Minister for Trade and Customs:* Senator R. V. Keane.

*Minister for Labour and National Service:* Mr. E. J. Holloway.

*Minister for Air and Minister for Civil Aviation:* Mr. A. S. Drakeford.

*Minister for Commerce and Agriculture:* Mr. W. J. Scully.

*Minister for Post-War Reconstruction and Minister in Charge of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research:* Mr. J. J. Dedman.

*Minister for Immigration and Minister for Information:* Mr. A. A. Calwell.

*Minister for the Interior:* Mr. H. V. Johnson.

*Minister for Transport and Minister for External Territories:* Mr. E. J. Ward.

*Minister for Health and Minister for Social Services:* Senator J. M. Fraser.

*Minister for Repatriation and Minister in Charge of War Service Homes:* Mr. C. W. Frost.

*Postmaster-General:* Senator Donald Cameron.

*Minister of Works and Housing:* Mr. H. P. Lazzarini.

*Vice-President of the Executive Council:* Senator J. S. Collings.

*High Commissioner for U.K. in Australia:* Rt. Hon. Sir Ronald Hibbert Cross, Bt.

*High Commissioner for Australia in London:* Rt. Hon. S. M. Bruce.

*Government Offices:* Australia House, Strand, W.C.2. *Tel.:* Temple 1567.

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## THE DOMINION OF CANADA

*Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief*: H.E. Major-General the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Athlone.

*Cabinet War Committee*:

*Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Secretary-of-State for External Affairs*: Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie-King.

*Minister of Mines and Resources*: Hon. J. A. Glen.

*Minister of Finance*: Hon. J. L. Ilsley.

*Minister of Air*: Hon. W. G. Gibson.

*Minister of Munitions and Supply*: Hon. D. C. Howe.

*Minister of National Defence and Minister of Naval Services*: Hon. D. C. Abbot.

*Under-Secretary for State, External Affairs*: Norman A. Robertson.

*Clerk of the Privy Council*: A. D. P. Heeney.

*High Commissioner for Great Britain in Canada*: Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, Earncliffe, Ottawa.

*High Commissioner for Canada in London*: Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey.

*Government Offices*: Canada House, Trafalgar Square, S.W.1. Tel.: Whi. 9741.

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## INDIA

*Viceroy and Governor-General of India*: Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. Viscount Wavell, P.C., G.C.B., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., C.M.G., M.C.

*Members of the Viceroy's Council*:

*War, Commander in Chief*: General Sir Claude J. E. Auchinleck, G.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E., A.D.C.

*Supply*: Diwan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.

*Information and Broadcasting*: Sir Sultan Ahmed.

*Defence*: Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon.

*War Transport and Railways*: Sir Edward Benthall.

*Posts and Air*: Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammed Usman.

*Labour*: Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

*Food*: Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava.

*Education, Health and Land*: Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh.

*Commerce, Industries and Supplies*: Sir Muhammed Azizul Huque.

*Commonwealth Relations*: Dr. N. B. Khare.

*Law*: Sir Asoka Kumar Roy.

*Home*: Sir Francis Mudie.

*Planning and Development:* Sir Ardeshir Dalal.

*Finance:* Sir Archibald Rowlands.

*Secretary:* G. E. B. Abell.

*High Commissioner in the United Kingdom:* Sir Samuel Runganadhan.

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#### INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR EFFORT

INDIA is unique among the United Nations in that she has raised the largest volunteer army in the world to-day. Every one of her two million and more soldiers has volunteered for service wherever required. And

Indian troops have fought in every theatre of war except the Pacific and have provided garrisons for distant outposts in many lands. As fighting troops they have not been surpassed—over thirty Victoria Crosses have been won by the Indian Army—and they have earned the respect and admiration, not only of the fighting men of the United Nations, but of the inhabitants of the countries in which they have served.

When war broke out, India sent troops overseas to Persia, Iraq, the Middle East and Europe, to Hong Kong and Singapore and Burma. General Wavell's campaigns in North Africa and his conquest of Abyssinia were made possible by troops and supplies from India. Indian divisions took part in the North African campaign, crossed over to Italy and fought in all the battles in that country until the end of the war in Europe. One division went to Greece. When Japan entered the war, the Indian Army fought at Hong Kong and in Malaya and Burma. They formed the majority of the fighting divisions in the 14th Army under General Slim which recaptured Burma.

When Russia was attacked by Germany and an overland supply route to the Caspian was urgently required, India sent to Persia railway track, locomotives and wagons, and river steamers, with the personnel to use them, and helped to construct the railway and road to Russia via West Persia. Indian engineers also turned the old caravan route through East Persia into a broad motor highway, along which have rolled thousands of lorries carrying jute, rubber, hessian, copper, tin, mercury and other raw materials and stores from India.

The Royal Indian Navy, besides taking part in the operations in Malaya and Burma in the days of the invasion, also provided escorts in the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea. Ships of the R.I.N. have taken a prominent part in the combined operations along the Burma coast, ending in the capture of Rangoon. The Royal Indian Air Force is operating over Burma in support of the 14th Army.

India, in the sixth year of war, was a vast base for the operations against Japan in South-east Asia. She has built 360 airfields from which the largest aircraft can operate, 70 training establishments for 470,000 men, 130 hospitals with 94,000 beds, etc. Her industries have been adapted to the needs of war. Ordnance factories are manufacturing guns, rifles, shells and ammunition in great variety. Her textile industry has supplied tents, tropical uniforms, equipment and jute materials of all kinds for the armies of the United Nations, as well as engineering and medical stores. Her steel works—one of them the largest in the British Empire—have been greatly expanded and are producing steels of all kinds, including armour plate.

India's contribution to the war effort of the United Nations in men and material has indeed been a notable one.

## THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

*Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief:* Air Marshal Sir Cyril Louis Norton Newall, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G., C.B.E. (Assumed office, February, 1941.)

*War Cabinet:*

*Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and of Island Territories:* Right Hon. Peter Fraser.

*Minister of Finance:* The Hon. W. Nash. At present N.Z. Minister a Washington.

*Minister in Charge of War Expenditure:* The Hon. A. Hamilton.

*Minister of Defence and War Pensions:* The Hon. F. Jones.

*Minister of Industry and Commerce, of Supplies and Munitions:* The Hon. D. G. Sullivan.

*Minister of Armed Forces and War Co-ordination:* Hon. Wm. Perry.

*High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in New Zealand:* Sir P. Ruff.

*High Commissioner for New Zealand in London:* W. J. Jordan.

*Government Offices:* 415 Strand, W.C.2. Tel.: Temple 3241.

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## NEW ZEALAND AND THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER

BY THE RT. HON. PETER FRASER

THE Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which have been drafted for the purpose of establishing a World Organization for peace and security and social and economic progress, are a great achievement in co-operation and unity on the part of the three Powers—the United States, Russia and the United Kingdom. They have been improved in spirit by the incorporation of the amendments put forward by China. I hope they will be still further improved in spirit and in fact during the Conference. I hope that at least it will be unanimously agreed that they are capable of improvement.

We have met for the purpose of outlawing aggression and preventing war as effectively as possible and establishing peace on a sure and lasting foundation, and we must achieve the maximum agreement in doing this. The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, which we value and for which we are grateful, are not sacrosanct. The four great Powers which have convened the Conference have not adopted a take it or leave it attitude. In that broad and generous atmosphere engendered by the speeches of the representatives of the sponsoring Powers, we can set ourselves to the great and sacred task entrusted to us. If we fail, we betray all mankind. If we succeed, we prevent future generations from being plunged again into the horrors, bloodshed, suffering, destruction, and devastation of war. We will have saved the world.

There can be no doubt about the goodwill prevalent at this Conference, but goodwill is not enough. We must see to it that the machine designed to translate that goodwill into effective operation among the nations is efficient.

New Zealand, in common with all the other United Nations, places the utmost emphasis on the need for an effective international organization to maintain peace and security. We have studied the Dumbarton Oaks proposals with special care, and accept these proposals, deficient as they are in certain particulars, as the basis on which the Organization should be built. The plan has many admirable features, but has in our view some weaknesses.

I would like to take this opportunity to endorse generally the statement placed before the Conference by Australia, whose interest in collective security in the Pacific is so closely allied to our own.

The two main deficiencies in the Dumbarton Oaks plan, as we see them, are the absence of any definite pledges on the part of members of the World Organization to protect one another against external aggression, and the disproportionate role that is allotted to the small Powers.

There is in the Dumbarton Oaks plan no clear statement that the security of the individual members of the Organization is the objective, and no embodiment of the stirring claim of the Atlantic Charter that the peace we aim at is one which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford an assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want. New Zealand would wish that in the Charter we are about to draft there should be placed in the core of the undertakings which members will assume the unequivocal pledge to resist all

acts of external aggression against any member of the Organization. We think that this provision, more than any other, would give life and meaning to the World Organization and assure to all states positive advantage in adhering to the Charter.

The peoples of the world deserve to know—they have the right to know—what rule of conduct is to guide their assembled representatives in deliberating on every critical phase of the relationship between nations. They should know by what yardstick the acts of their own country or of any other country should be measured. They should have an international rule of conduct set before them clearly and simply, and in the opinion of the New Zealand Government this can be done only by the universal pledge by each and every nation that all acts of aggression will be resisted.

I should add that while the territorial integrity and political independence of each member should be preserved against external aggression, changes in the *status quo* should at the same time be possible, although not under force or threat of force. The declaration of the Act of Chapultepec issued from Mexico City recently would meet what New Zealand considers to be an imperative necessity.

The second major deficiency we see in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is the excessive authority conferred on the great powers. We fully realize that the primary condition for the success of the Organization is that the more powerful nations should remain united in support of it, and we realize also that no security programme is worth pursuing unless it commands the adherence of the great Powers. We feel, however, that the part the smaller nations may take in the framing of the decisions of the World Organization could without loss of security be enlarged.

In matters of peace and war, no responsible government, large or small, can sign away the right to pass judgment on itself in its own parliament and through its own constitution and forms. The country I represent has never shirked its responsibilities in the defence of freedom and the democratic way of life. These responsibilities have been mostly called for and mostly fulfilled in times of war, when the price of shouldering them has been at its highest peak—the price that is measured in death, bloodshed and sacrifice. New Zealand asks now to be given an opportunity to meet adequately her responsibilities in time of peace. We are not prepared to be relegated to a position of 'theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die.' I do not for a moment overlook the fact that the great Powers must have inevitably a predominant voice on matters which call for the use of armed force, but clearly there will be a difficulty in the way of accepting a proposal under which the great Powers retain for themselves the right to say in every important case whether the Organization shall act or not, and whether they themselves shall be bound or not, and are at the same time vested with the right to deny to the smaller Powers not only a vote but a voice in these matters.

In our view the power of the Assembly should therefore be so wide as to give that body the right to consider any matter within the sphere of international relations. The Security Council would have its specific powers, but the powers of discussion and recommendation of the Assembly should not be constitutionally limited. We would also propose that when sanctions are called for by the Security Council the endorsement by the Assembly should normally be required and all members should be bound by the Assembly's decision. This course should not necessitate any delay

in taking action, since there are likely to be in the future, as there have always been in the past, some indications of even a rapidly developing dangerous situation. In cases of extreme urgency, the Security Council should have the power to act.

In our view, so long as the Council does not falter in its duty and acts in accordance with the principles of the Charter, the other members of the Organization will be both eager and willing to support it as the occasion may require.

Another matter of major importance to which I wish to refer concerns the veto rights of the great Powers. Can proposals embodying this principle and prerogative possibly be regarded as a sound basis for the building of a lasting World Organization? The veto which can be exercised by one of the great Powers both in regard to itself and other nations is unfair and indefensible and may, if retained and exercised, be destructive not only of the main purposes of the international Organization, but of the Organization itself. For instance, under the existing provisions, one of the five permanent members which may clearly be an aggressor can use its power of veto to prevent its own condemnation or even its designation as an aggressor. It is quite true that even if the power of veto were withdrawn one of the great Powers after being designated an aggressor by the Security Council could decide to defy and flaunt the decision of the Council. In that case, the enforcement of the Council's decision by the means mentioned in paragraph 3 of Section B of Chapter 8 of the draft proposals would probably mean a war between the nations on the Security Council, and that would be a dreadful calamity—a catastrophe which none would wish to contemplate.

It can be asked then, 'Is the result not the same whether there is a veto power or not, namely the successful defiance of the decision of the Security Council?' My answer is, that there is a great difference between a nation defying the Council in violation of its pledge to accept, observe, and morally abide by the decision, and a nation being legally empowered to exercise defiance of the Security Council. As the draft proposals stand, after a great Power by common consent and agreement has been solemnly indicated as an aggressor nothing further can be done if that power exercises right of veto. It gets off with it. It is also clear that if the veto is exercised in such a case defiantly and perhaps even cynically the faith of men and of nations in the World Organization would collapse.

The veto of the five large Powers should not be insisted on, but apparently this veto is a condition up to the present moment of the unity of the three Powers, Russia, United States and the United Kingdom, in the promotion of the World Organization—maybe an inevitable condition. If this is so, I am afraid that the other countries will have no option but to accept it, because I believe that any organization that will bring the nations of the earth together to discuss matters of importance to the world, even if that discussion is to a large extent frustrated and negative, is better than no World Organization. At the same time, while accepting the distasteful and possibly disastrous veto, there is no need for us to justify or applaud it or to refrain from efforts in future years to have it removed.

But what about the veto which can be exercised by one of the permanent powers in the Security Council, in respect to aggression by *other* nations. Surely the inclusion of this particular form of veto has been unintentional. I believe that it was never intended that a great power should be entrusted

with the right of veto in the case of aggression by a small Power. If it survives, it will bring about a situation that will be preposterous and will destroy respect for the World Organization. For instance, one small Power may be an aggressor against another small Power, but one of the great Powers can even veto the matter being made a subject for consideration by the Security Council. At least it is held by some who have studied the proposals that a great Power could prevent any discussion in such circumstances, but I am of the opinion that discussion could take place in the Security Council up to the point when a vote is taken as to whether the question is one for the Security Council to consider and handle. If a great Power could cast a cloak of protection over a small aggressor Power with the exercise of the right of veto, then the work of the Security Council would be reduced to complete futility.

While we feel that the veto as a whole should not and cannot survive as a permanent arrangement, we are firmly of the opinion that if its adoption in some form is inevitable its operation should be restricted exclusively to enforce an action under Chapter 8, Section B. This matter has admittedly been the subject of much discussion and already the great Powers have made concessions. They have not asked for the power of veto in their own cases up to the point of the application of sanctions; but under present conditions they will retain veto in the case of others, both for the application of sanctions and for the preliminary stages. The New Zealand Government considers that this proposal is not only wrong, but ridiculously and absurdly wrong, and should not be upheld. I feel certain that the decision arrived at was never arrived at intentionally, and therefore can be corrected at this Conference.

Another matter to which I would refer concerns trusteeship. In our view the Charter should include the application of the principle of trusteeship to the government of dependent peoples. The object of the trust is the welfare of those peoples. The powers to be conferred on the Organization to this end should be the subject of discussion and negotiation.

Finally, I would like to stress the supreme importance for world security of effective economic and social co-operation. The New Zealand Government attaches great importance to the provisions of the Chapter respecting the functions of the Economic and Social Council.

As I stated at the outset of my remarks, the maintenance of peace is the paramount problem that confronts us. This is a moral problem and not merely a mechanical one to be solved by procedures, however carefully devised and comprehensive in their nature. The failure of the League of Nations—one of the noblest conceptions in the history of mankind—was a moral failure on the part of individual members and was not due to any fundamental defect of the machinery of the League. The League of Nations failed because its members would not perform what they undertook to perform. It failed because of the recession that took place in public morality in the face of the rising tide of Fascism and Nazism. It failed because the rule of expediency replaced that of moral principles.

I would therefore stress that, unless in the future we have the moral rectitude and determination to stand by our engagements and principles, then the procedure laid down in this new Organization will avail us nothing; the suffering and sacrifices our peoples have endured will avail us nothing; and the countless lives of those who have died in this struggle



for security and freedom will have been sacrificed in vain. I would plead most earnestly that the members of the new Organization should seek international equity, both political and economic, that the members will, in all circumstances, keep their pledged word and faith, and that the members will never again allow aggression in any shape or form in any part of the world.

I am speaking for a country which, although small in area and population, has made great sacrifices in two world wars. I speak for the New Zealanders who have died and are buried thousands of miles from their own land in the cause they believed to be just. I speak for the millions of New Zealanders yet to be born.

This is a moment of time which will not recur in our lives and may never recur again. The world may well be bound for all time by what we who are here to-day make of our heavy and onerous responsibility. It is my deep fear that if this fleeting moment is not captured the world will again relapse into a period of disillusionment, despair and doom. This must not happen.

There appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on Thursday last a grim and moving picture of the cemetery of the 5th Marine Division at Iwo Jima. Underneath were these words: 'For us, the living.' Row upon row of graves in Iwo Jima testify to the cost of that little island alone, a cost that delegates to the San Francisco Conference are resolved shall not have been in vain. The men of the 5th Marine Division who lie in this cemetery thought that their sons and grandsons would not have to fight, and the United Nations' discussions here will carry on that battle to implement the peace, to organize for security, to ensure that there will be no more far-flung graveyards to mark the path of future war. These words and the photograph of the graveyard can be multiplied time and time and time again in every part of the world where battle has been joined with the forces of tyranny and aggression. These words point for us the lesson and the task. I hope, and you hope and the world hopes, that we will be big enough for the task, that we can accomplish it and save the world from future war, aggression, bloodshed and soul-destroying tyranny.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

*Governor-General:* Vacant.

*Officer Administrating for the Government:* Rt. Hon. N. J. de Wet.

*Cabinet:*

*Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Defence:* Field-Marshal the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts.

*Minister of Native Affairs:* Major the Hon. P. V. G. van der Byl.

*Minister of Finance and Education:* Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr.

*Minister of Economic Development:* Hon. S. F. Waterson.

*Minister of Agriculture and Forestry:* The Hon. N. J. G. Strauss.

*Minister of Transport:* Hon. F. C. Sturrock.

*Minister of Interior and Posts and Telegraphs and of Public Works:* Hon. C. F. Clarkson.

*Minister of Welfare and Demobilization:* Hon. H. G. Lawrence.

*Minister of Mines:* Colonel the Hon. C. F. Stallard.

*Minister of Lands:* Hon. A. M. Conroy.

*Minister of Justice:* Hon. Colin Steyn.

*High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in South Africa:* Sir Evelyn Baring.

*High Commissioner for South Africa in London:* The Hon. G. Heaton Nichols.

*Government Offices:* South Africa House, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2. Tel.: Whi. 4488.

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## NEED FOR REGIONAL GROUPING IN EUROPE

BY FIELD-MARSHAL THE RT. HON. SMUTS

THE British Commonwealth of Nations is the forerunner of similar regional groups that eventually will solve the problem of human government. The most urgent need for a regional group is in Europe, suffering after two wars in a generation.

The United Nations' World Peace Charter can succeed only if the countries remain prepared for all contingencies in their lifetime and make preparedness an essential part of their peace efforts.

Let me offer a warning in advance. Do not let us make the same mistake as we made at the end of the last war, when, in a spirit of extravagant optimism, we thought that all war danger had passed and that a new age of perpetual peace had arrived. The new age had not yet arrived. We disarmed, and when new and greater dangers emerged from Nazi Germany we were unprepared, defenceless; and came as near total shipwreck as the ship of Western civilization has ever come to in hundreds of years.

The United Nations Charter at San Francisco will succeed only if we continue to be prepared for all contingencies in our lifetime. Let preparedness be an essential part of our peace effort. Only on that condition may we succeed in maintaining peace in this dangerous world.

The conference has not achieved perfection—far from it—but there is no reason for any discouragement. This Charter is a child of goodwill among nations, and where there is goodwill the good way will be found in due course. The Charter secures, at least, by this great advance on the past that in future there will be teeth in the world organization, there will be force—organized international force—to bring to bear on an aggressor, and that the spearhead and motive power of this force will be the great Powers, acting in unison.

Even at the sacrifice, by the smaller Powers, of some of their *amour propre*, unity among the great Powers is at least secure in the Charter, and total war power is brought into a position to control itself. What appears to smaller nations most objectionable in this Charter is, in fact, to-day the most necessary basis for future peace. The obvious way to maintain unity among the great Powers is the adoption of the principle of unanimity in voting among them, the so-called vote of the Yalta Conference, which proved to be the most criticized provision of the Charter at San Francisco, but a necessary step to take. While the veto can, theoretically, be abused, it is not to be lightly assumed that the great Powers will be guilty of what would, in effect, be betrayal and sabotage of the Organization itself.

In acknowledging and recognizing the regional group, the Charter, incidentally, provides a place in its programme for the British Commonwealth of Nations—the oldest and most successful existing regional group in the world. The looseness and the freedom from all bonds of compulsion which distinguish it have made people think that it could not last, that in any great crisis break-up was inevitable, even if it did not come about in the ordinary course of events. We have now gone through the test of the two greatest wars in history. In these tests the close-knit German Empire has itself gone under, perhaps finally, never to return as an empire State again.

If it is true that wisdom is justified of her children, we may, with no less truth, say that freedom has been justified of her children. The political creed of our group, its faith in man's freedom, in free human self-government, has not been shamed. Such is our group, first and greatest regional group in history, and, in my humble opinion, forerunner of other, similar groups which will eventually solve the vast problem of human government.

Our group has demonstrated how small human units can combine for their own protection and their own good, and, so far from surrendering their own status and position, can derive a new increase of strength and progress and freedom from such a Union, while thereby also solving larger problems of human government and eliminating the causes of human conflict.

I would suggest that the most urgent case for a regional group is Europe itself. There is no sadder case to-day than the Continent of Europe, suffering materially and mentally through the two world wars in one generation—restoration of Europe, supreme problem of the coming peace, is, beyond all doubt, the most important and urgent problem before the world.

My reflections and experience of life have led me to question the adequacy of the Marxian view that human conflicts arise solely from material and economic causes, and can be dealt with on that level—merely by economic and social reform. A house swept clean and garnished,

but empty of the spirit, still remains a place which seven devils may enter and occupy.

For instance, I fail to believe that Hitler's war—the most terrible in history—was due merely to economic causes, and not something deeper, more sinister, in human outlook and beliefs. In discussing the cause of war, we cannot neglect the awful phenomenon of Nazi fanaticism and World War II. The Charter very rightly emphasizes the cultural advance of the world as an antidote to war.

The quest for world peace is bound up with the quest for inner peace, which alone can satisfy the human spirit and give it lasting rest and peace. Perhaps the scientific materialism of to-day may find its counterpoise and sublimation in the spiritual humanism of the age to come, and thus prove only a stepping-stone to the next great advance of our race, and its corollary in the banishment of war as arbiter and judge in our human affairs.

## GREECE

*Flag:* Nine horizontal bands alternately blue and white, with a white cross on blue ground in the corner.

*King of the Hellenes:* George II. Born July 20, 1890. Succeeded his father in 1922. Deposed in 1925. Restored in 1935. *Heir:* His brother, Crown Prince Paul. Born in 1901. Married in 1938, Princess Frederica of Brunswick. Son: Prince Constantine. Born in 1940.

*Regent:* Damaskinos, Archbishop of Athens and all Greece.

*The Cabinet:*

*Prime Minister:* P. Voulgaris.

*Under-Secretary:* G. Lambrinopoulos.

*Minister of War:* P. Voulgaris.

*Under-Secretary:* M. Drakos.

*Minister of Air:* P. Voulgaris.

*Under-Secretary:* G. Alexandris.

*Minister of the Navy:* P. Voulgaris.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* P. Voulgaris.

*Under-Secretary:* M. Tsamados.

*Minister of Justice:* G. Cassimatis.

*Under-Secretary for the Interior:* G. Forgoulis.

*Minister of Finance:* G. Mentzavinos.

*Under-Secretary:* M. Pesmazoglou.

*Minister for National Economy:* I. Paraskevopoulos.

*Minister of Labour:* A. Zakas.

*Minister of Social Welfare:* G. Cassimatis.

*Under-Secretary:* K. Cambas.

*Minister of Transport:* G. Lambrinopoulos.

*Minister of Agriculture:* P. Koutsomitopoulos.  
*Minister of Public Works, Post, Telegraph, and Telephone:* A. Dimitracopoulos.  
*Minister of Supply:* K. Varvaressos.  
*Under-Secretary:* N. Pintos.  
*Minister of Education:* G. Economos.  
*Minister of Mercantile Marine:* S. Matessis.  
*Minister of Hygiene:* B. Voylas.  
*Under-Secretary for Information:* M. Pasmazoglou.  
*Under-Secretary for Repatriation:* N. Levidis.  
*Greek Ambassador in London:* M. Th. Agnides.  
*Counsellor:* M. J. A. Romanos, 51 Upper Brook Street, W.1. Tel.: Mayfair 0694.  
*British Ambassador to Greece:* Sir Rex Leeper.

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## DOCUMENTS

## GREEK-YUGOSLAV AGREEMENT

January 15, 1942

HAVING observed that past experience, and more particularly very recent experience have demonstrated that the lack of close understanding between the Balkan peoples has caused them to be exploited by the

powers of aggression in their aim towards political and military penetration and domination of the Peninsula; and considering that in order to assure the independence and peace of the Balkan States the fundamental principle of their policy must be the principle of 'Balkans for the Balkan peoples,' His Majesty, King of the Hellenes, and His Majesty, King of Yugoslavia, have decided to conclude the present Agreement concerning the Constitution of A Balkan Union and to that effect have named their plenipotentiaries: His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, has named H.E. Emanuel Tsouderos, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and H.E. Caralambos Simopoulos, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia, has named H.E. Professor Slobodan Jovanovitch, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Interior, and H.E. Momtchillo Nintchitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs. After receiving the communications of their plenary powers, which were found to be drawn up in good and due form, these Ministers have agreed to the following dispositions:

### *Chapter One: Organs of the Union*

Article I: The organs of the Union which will meet at regular intervals are:

1. A political Organ constituted by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and
2. An economic and financial Organ constituted by two members of each Government who will be competent in economic and financial matters.

Article II: The permanent military Organ. This Organ, wherein the Governments will be represented by the Chiefs of the General Staffs or by their Representatives, will constitute at the side of the National General Staffs a common General Staff of the National Armies. This Organ will comprise two bureaus, one for the Army and Aviation, and the other for the Navy.

Article III: A permanent Bureau will comprise three sections:

- A. Political.
- B. Economic and Financial.
- C. Military.

Article IV: The Presidents of the Councils of Ministers of the States composing the Union will meet whenever circumstances require in order to discuss the questions of a general order of interest to the Union.

Article V: Collaboration between Parliaments: The governments of the Union will facilitate regular meetings between Parliamentary delegations of the States of the Union, allowing these Delegations to proceed to exchange of views and to expressions of their wishes in the form of questions of common interest which would be submitted to them by competent organs.

### *Chapter Two: Business of the Organs of the Union*

Article VI: (1) The task of the Political Organ will be:

- A. To co-ordinate the foreign policy of the members with a view to enabling the Union to act in a uniform manner on an international plane

and to proceed with preliminary consultation at all times when the vital exterior interests of the members of the Union should be menaced.

B. To prepare projects for agreements of conciliation and arbitration between the members of the Union. The political Organ will undertake the constitution of the following organisations:

a. A Commission charged with the elaboration of agreements of intellectual co-operation between members of the Union and with the supervision of their application.

b. A Commission charged with the co-ordination of the efforts of the Organs of the Press in view of a rapprochement of public opinion in States which are members of the Union and of the defence of their interests.

Article VII: (2) The task of the Economic and Financial Organ will be:

A. To co-ordinate the policies of exterior commerce and customs tariffs with a view to the conclusion of a customs union.

B. To elaborate a common economic plan for members of the Union.

C. To study by means of special organs all means which will permit the amelioration of communications between members of the Union (railways, roads, navigation by sea, air and river, posts and telegraph), as well as tourist development within the Union.

D. To prepare a draft of an Agreement instituting a Balkan monetary union.

Article VIII: (3) The task of the Military Organ will be to co-ordinate activities concerning collaboration between the national armed forces of the members of the Union, adoption of a common plan of defence and a common type of armament, etc. The mission of the armed forces of the Union will be to defend the European frontiers of the States of the Union.

Article IX: (4) The permanent bureau will form the Secretariat of the different organs of the Union and its task will be:

A. To prepare material for the labours of the Organs of the Union.

B. To study all questions the solution of which may render more efficacious the political, economic, financial and military co-operation of the members of the Union.

C. To supervise the application of the decisions of the Organs of the Union.

### *Chapter Three*

Article X: The high contracting parties declare that this agreement presents the general foundations for the organisation of a Balkan Union. They consider themselves bound by the foregoing dispositions from the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification, and they envisage with satisfaction the future adhesion to this agreement of other Balkan states ruled by governments freely and legally constituted.

Article XI: The present Agreement will be ratified, and the ratifications will be exchanged, as soon as this shall be possible. In witness whereof, the representative plenipotentiaries have hereto placed their signatures and their seals.

Done in London, in duplicate, the original in French, on the 15th day of January, one thousand nine hundred and forty-two.

## GUATEMALA

*Flag:* Three vertical bands: blue, white, blue.

*President:* Juan Jose Arevalo.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Guillermo Toriello.

*Minister of Public Works, Labour and Social Provision:* Leonidas Acevedo.

*Minister of National Defence:* Jacobo Arbenz.

*Minister of Finance and Public Credit:* Jorge Toriello.

*Minister of Agriculture and Mines:* Roberto Guirola.

*Minister of Public Health and Social Assistance:* Dr. Julio Bianchi.

*Minister of Public Education:* Bachiller Manuel Galich.

*Minister of Communications and Public Works:* Hector Chacon.

*Minister of Economy:* Dr. Manuel Noriega Morales.

*Secretary of the Presidency:* Mario Méndez Montenegro.

*British Minister to Guatemala:* John Hurleston Leche.

*Guatemalan Minister in London:* General Miguel Ydigoras-Fuentes.

*Legation:* 21 Cavendish Square, London, W.1. *Tel.:* Langham 2627.

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*Nuestro Diario.*

## HAITI

*Flag:* Two horizontal bands, blue and red.

*President:* Eli Lescot (since 1941).

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Gerald Lescot.

*Finance:* Abel Lacroix.

*Interior, Justice and National Defence:* V. Thébaud.

*Public Works:* Théophile Richard.

*Education and Agriculture:* Maurice d'Artigue.

*British Minister Resident in Haiti:* A. A. L. Tuson.

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## HONDURAS

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, blue, white, blue (with five blue stars on white band).

*President:* General Don Tiburcio Carías A.

*Ministry:*

*Foreign Relations and Public Works:* Dr. Silverio Lainez.

*Finance:* Don Urbano Quesada.

*Government, Health and Justice:* Ing. Abraham Williams.

*War and Navy:* Dr. Juan Manuel Gálvez.

*Education (Acting):* Professor Angel G. Hernandez.

*Honduran Consulate-General in London:* 15 Union Court, Broad Street, E.C.2. *Tel.:* London Wall 1666.

*British Minister:* See Guatemala.

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## IRAQ

*Flag:* Black, white, green, with two white stars on red field.

*King:* Faisal II. Born May 2, 1935. Succeeded his father in 1939 under the Regency of his uncle, Amir Abdul Illah.

*Government:*

*Prime Minister:* Hamdi Pachachi.

*Foreign Minister:* Sayid Arshad al Umari.

*Minister of Defence:* Sayid Ismail Namiq.

*Minister of the Interior:* Sayid Mustafa al Umari.

*Minister of Finance and Acting Minister of Supply:* Sayid Salih Jabre.

*Minister of Justice:* Sayid Mukhtar Baban.

*Minister of Communications and Works:* Sayid Abdul Amir Al Uzri.

*Minister of Education:* Sayid Ibrahim Akif.

*Minister of Economy:* Sayid Tawfiq Wahbi.

*Minister of Social Affairs:* Sayid Majid Allawi.

*Iraq Legation in London:* 22 Queen's Gate, S.W.7. *Tel.:* Western 2237.

*Chargé d'Affaires:* Colonel Shakir Wadi.

*British Ambassador to Iraq:* Sir Hugh Stonehewer-Bird.

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## LEBANON

*Flag*: Horizontal bands, red, white, red, with cedar tree in centre of white band.

*President*: Bishara El Khouri.

*Prime Minister and Minister of Finance*: Abdul Hamide Karamé.

*Foreign Minister and Minister of Public Works*: Henry Pharon.

*Minister of the Interior*: Wadi Naim.

*Other Ministers*: Jamile Talhouk, Nicolas Ghosn, Ahmed El Assad.

*Minister in London*: Camille Chamoun.

*Counsellor*: Victor Khouri.

*Legation in London*: Cowley Street, Westminster.

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## LIBERIA

*Flag*: Alternate horizontal stripes (five white, six red), with five-pointed white star on blue field in upper corner next flagstaff.

*President*: William V. S. Tubman.

*Secretary of State*: Gabriel L. Dennis.

*Secretary of the Treasury*: William E. Dennis.

*Attorney-General*: C. Abayomi Cassell.

*Secretary of War*: Wilkins H. Taylor.

*Secretary of the Interior*: S. David Coleman.

*Secretary of Public Instruction*: John W. Pearson.

*Acting Postmaster-General*: James T. Phillips.

*Secretary of Public Works and Utilities*: Walter F. Walker.

*Vice-President:* C. L. Simpson.

*Liberian Legation in London:* 31 Pont Street, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 8360.

*Minister in London:* Baron de Lynden.

*British Chargé d'Affaires in Liberia:* George Edward Vaughan, O.B.E.,  
Acting Consul-General at Monrovia.

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Young, J. C. *Liberia Discovered*. New York, 1934.

#### LUXEMBOURG

*Flag:* Red, white, blue.

*Sovereign:* Grand Duchess Charlotte. Born January 23, 1896, at Colmar-Berg Castle. Second daughter of William, Grand Duke of Luxembourg (1852-1910), and Marie-Anne of Braganza, Infanta of Portugal (1861-1942). Succeeded her elder sister, Grand Duchess Marie-Adelaide (1894-1924) on her abdication. January 9, 1919. Married Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parme, Prince of Luxembourg, November 6, 1919.

*Children:* The Hereditary Grand Duke Jean. Born, January 5, 1921. Princess Elizabeth. Born December 22, 1922. Princess Marie-Adelaide. Born, May 21, 1924. Princess Marie-Gabrielle. Born, August 2, 1925. Prince Charles. Born, August 7, 1927. Princess Alix. Born, August 24, 1929.

*Prime Minister and Minister of Finance:* M. Pierre Dupong.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs and Hon. Minister of State:* M. Joseph Bech.

*Minister of Labour, Social Services and Mines:* M. Pierre Krier.

*Minister of Agriculture and Repatriation:* Professor Nicolas Margue.

*Minister of Justice, Public Works and Transport:* Victor Bodson.

*Minister of Education:* M. Pierre Frieden.

*Minister of the Interior and Epuration:* M. Robert Als.

*Minister of Commerce and Industry, Rehabilitation and Economic Affairs:* M. Guillaume Kongsbruck.

*Minister and Consul General in London:* M. Andrew Clasen.

*Luxembourg Legation:* 27 Wilton Crescent, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Slo. 0443.

*British Minister to Luxembourg:* Sir Hugh Knatchbull-Hugessen.

*Government Information Office:* 27 Wilton Crescent, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Slo. 6231.

*Commissioner of Information:* M. H. R. Madol.

*Luxembourg Red Cross, London H.Q.:* 27 Wilton Crescent, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Slo. 6231.

*Luxembourg Society:* Norfolk House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C.2. *Tel.:* Temple Bar 8378.

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## LUXEMBOURG AND THE NEW CHARTER

By JOSEPH BECH

*Foreign Minister*

THE night before his death, President Roosevelt wrote this phrase in his last address: 'The only limit to our realizations of to-morrow will be our doubts of to-day. . . .'

It seems to me that this thought of the late President should be ever-present in our minds, just as I think it will be well, at critical moments, to turn our thoughts toward the already haloed figure of the great humanitarian, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose faith in a better world was never shaken by doubt and whose indomitable will to make this world a reality was never crippled by discouragement.

Among the people of the earth who mourn him is my little country, which the President held in particular affection. He never missed a chance to express this affection or to show it in his actions. How can we find words to express our sorrow and our gratitude to the memory of the President and to the great American nation whose triumphant armies have liberated our territory and restored our independence and freedom? Not far from my country's capital, thousands of American soldiers who fell in the battle for the Ardennes lie beneath their wooden crosses. Far from their native land, they rest in the soil which they liberated with their blood. There they sleep, surrounded by the affectionate devotion and boundless gratitude of a small sister nation. Their last resting place will remain for ever one of the sacred shrines of Luxembourg.

When I think of these dead and of the millions of others who fell, victims of Teutonic and Japanese aggression, the mere thought that the work of the United Nations could end in failure seems sheer treason.

We have to prevent this terrible slaughter from recurring. Our pre-

decessors failed in this after the First World War. Yet in spite of the failure of the first institution set up to maintain peace, the peoples have kept faith in international solidarity. They will not permit, they would not forgive their leaders if they returned to a policy of balance of power, which would inevitably result in a race for armaments, heading straight for another war.

The protection of peace can only be insured on the basis of collective security. The Geneva League is dead, but its fundamental principle, the spirit of international solidarity, lives again in San Francisco. The best proof of this is that the Dumbarton Oaks plan resembles the Covenant like a brother—a more robust brother, a more realistic one who has cast aside the Utopian dreams of his elder and gained wisdom and experience from past errors and misfortunes.

The United States, together with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are to-day among the United Nations which will assume the responsibility for maintaining peace.

One of the chief causes which undermined the Geneva venture is thus ruled out. The League of Nations was intended to be armed, but it was born without shield or sword—in other words, it was still-born. The international Organization born of our discussions will have the necessary armed forces to insure respect for its decisions. A great French writer once said that a judge is nothing but a poor dreamer unless he is backed by a police force. Taking national selfishness into account, what could be expected of Geneva's judge?

Who can deny that the powers and privileges which the five principal guardians of the future Organization have taken upon themselves and ask us to confirm are rather exclusive? But should we really have expected that the great powers, in coming here, and we too in our turn, could forget that it was they who brought the German giant to his knees, that it is they who to-morrow will make an end of his Japanese accomplice, and, moreover, that it is they too who will have to shoulder the greater part of the responsibility in warding off and overthrowing any future aggression?

Authorized spokesmen of the great Powers have stated that the text of the Dumbarton Oaks plan, which sanctions the rights and obligations of these great Powers, far from being inspired by a spirit of domination, are designed to serve better the common cause of the United Nations. I accept the omens, and I hope and believe that there will be some way of conciliating the principle of equal sovereignty for all peaceful nations, as stressed in the Moscow declarations, in a system which will take into consideration the responsibility of the great Powers.

In the past, peace meant absence of war, and not the setting up of an international order founded on justice.

It is up to us to create this international order. Our success depends on how we answer this question: Which comes first, justice or peace?

## DOCUMENTS

### DUTCH-BELGIAN-LUXEMBOURG CUSTOMS UNION

BELGIUM and Luxembourg, between whom an Economic Union exists since 1921, have concluded a Customs Union with the Netherlands dated September 5, 1944.

Temporary in character, it is intended to facilitate the re-establishment of economic activities and the creation of conditions favourable to the eventual realization of a permanent and complete Customs Union. It provides a sequence to the Monetary Agreement concluded between the same three States on October 21, 1943.

Under the agreement just signed by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for Finance of the three countries, the Netherlands and the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union adopt a common customs tariff abrogating between themselves all payments of customs duties. The common régime to be applied to the goods of other countries is conceived in a liberal spirit. All produce coming under the heading of relief and all materials and equipment intended for rehabilitation will temporarily be admitted free of duty. These will constitute the bulk of imports during the period for which the agreement is made.

The agreement sets up the following organizations charged with the co-ordination of the measures coming under the common régime resulting from the Customs Union:

An administrative customs commission which will formulate proposals for the measures needed to ensure the unification of legislation and regulations governing the payment of Customs and excise fees.

An administrative commission for foreign trade which will co-ordinate the régime of licences and import and export quotas.

A commission for trade agreements which will co-ordinate the measures concerning the relations laid down in conventions with third Powers.

The common measures to be taken under the agreement will be decided upon by the joint action of the Ministers concerned of the contracting parties.

The agreement will enter into force provisionally immediately on the re-installation of the Governments in their liberated countries.

## MEXICO

*Flag:* Three vertical bands: green, white, red.

*President:* General Manuel Avila Camacho. (December, 1940, to November, 1946.)

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Dr. Francisco Castillo Najera.

*Minister of National Defence:* General Francisco L. Urquiza.

*Minister of Education:* Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet.

*Minister of Labour:* Dr. Francisco Trujillo y Gurria.

*Minister of Interior:* Lic. Primo Villa Michel.

*Mexican Ambassador in London:* Dr. Alfonso de Rosenzweig-Diaz. (January, 1942.)

*Councillor:* Sr. Gustavo Luders de Negri, 48 Belgrave Square, S.W.1.  
*Tel.:* Slo. 4037.

*British Ambassador in Mexico:* Charles Harold Bateman, C.M.G., M.C. (October, 1941.)

*Press:* *El Nacional*, *El Universal*, *Excelsior*, *Novedades*, *Ultimas Noticias*, *Hoy*, *Tiempo*, *Sucesos para Todos*.

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## MEXICO PRESENT AND FUTURE

BY ALFONSO DE ROSENZWEIG-DIAZ

*Mexican Ambassador*

THE war is over. This great tragedy that has no parallel in history has come to an end. And when the shape of the new world is becoming visible it seems appropriate to review Mexico's ethical standing in the light of how she passed the test of the collapse of the old world.

The march of time has fully confirmed the basic ideas of Mexican policy. Never before has it been so obvious to the great majority of world opinion that without solid moral foundations even the most grandiose political concept is doomed. The strength of Mexican foreign policy lies in the fact that at not one single instant of this greatest world crisis did a change of its main line have to be made. When Mexico severed diplomatic relations with Hitler's international coalition, and entered the war on the side of the United Nations, she implemented the moral break which had



separated her from Nazi-Fascism since the Italian onslaught on Abyssinia. It is a matter of great pride to the Mexican people that in all critical situations before and during the war, the Mexican Government has acted according to the principle that man—and not vested interests of power or capital—must be the object of the chief effort of nations and their governments. The 'Declaration of the Social Principles of the Americas,' approved by the Mexican Conference, is the adoption of the very same tenets which the Mexican Revolution has proclaimed from its outset, and which were demonstrated by such measures as giving asylum to Spanish Republican democrats and, during the war, to Polish victims of Nazi oppression. In that respect, Mexican foreign policy will remain inflexible. It will continue to fight against Nazi-Fascism wherever it happens to be and under whatever disguise it may appear.

It is due—in my opinion—to the strong moral foundation of Mexico's policy that Mexico holds now a respected position in international policy.

Mexico's internal aims are to form a progressive and politically conscious society. This is to be achieved by education—social, political, cultural and economic. During the war reports on Mexico have concentrated on her industrialization and on her contribution to the war. This indeed has been great. It was made sincerely, though the economic concentration of war-essential production was frequently not in line with the requirements of a country which is in a very important stage of industrialization. Mexico was only too glad to do whatever she could to help in winning the war. There were 15,000 Mexican soldiers who fought in Europe, and the famous Mexican squadron '201' which is fighting against Japan.

The Mexican Government has in mind that the very basis of the Mexican home policy is education, and that it is the education of the peasants which forms its most essential part.

Agricultural policy remained the mainstay of Mexico's internal policy; its principles combining national ownership of the soil and co-operative methods of farming and small properties.

Mexican progress has been remarkable, and still better results are confidently hoped for. The Government's policy may be divided into three parts. One is the basic education of the peasant community and their training in the use of machinery; another is the development of agricultural production; yet another is support for the farmer by systematic irrigation, encouragement of agricultural industries and improvement of transport.

Approximately £18,000,000 are scheduled for an irrigation scheme which in less than three years' time will water 1,740,000 acres of land. A new Government-sponsored company is engaged in exploiting the guano deposits for the production of chemical fertilizers. Agricultural industries have greatly grown in number. They have contributed to improved marketing of Mexican agricultural production and thus increased the purchasing power of the farming population. The new road-railway construction and the high volume of air transport in Mexico have facilitated contact with remote parts of the country.

Mexico's advances in agricultural technique and the progress in transportation and industrialization go, in the view of competent experts, much beyond their immediate effects. To mention only a few of the new plants which started work during 1945: at Monclova a new £2,000,000 steel

mill has been finished. The Cananea Consolidated Copper Co. is erecting new plants costing nearly £3,500,000 to produce blister copper. Work will begin shortly on the exploitation of important coal deposits north of Monclova wherefrom coal will be sent to the steel plants at Monterrey. Petroleum production is expected to increase soon by the output of the new oil wells near Laredo, where high-grade petrol has been found. These wells will be connected by three pipelines with Monterrey, where a new refinery is being built. One of the pipelines will bring the oil to the refinery; another will supply the industries of Monterrey with natural gas from the wells, and third will be laid to the Gulf of Mexico (probably to the port of Matamoros), wherefrom the oil can be exported.

The Mexican Ministry of Marine has designed a plan for the improvement of maritime river and lake transport, which also provides for a substantial improvement of the port facilities and for enlargement of the Mexican Merchant Marine.

Mexican economics, just as Mexican politics, are designed for the benefit of the small man. They aim at raising the living standard of the farmer, the handicraft man and the factory worker. It is a fundamentally Mexican programme, the execution of which will take years.

There is no doubt that the political and economic position of Mexico has greatly improved and is steadily improving. This is clearly shown by two facts, by the Mexican relations with other States and by the settlement of all previous economic differences with the U.S.A. Mexican relations with Britain have greatly improved during the past year, but it would be idle to deny that, particularly economically, much more will have to be done. It is realized throughout the Americas that Mexico's wealth has greatly increased during her economic reform, that Mexican funds have returned from abroad, and that ample reserves exist for accelerating industrialization and mechanization of production after the war. Mexico, in the view of leading international economists, will be an excellent market for export, and it is in connection with that that in the post-war transportation policy so much emphasis is being laid on the creation of direct shipping routes to Mexican ports, regular air services with all parts of the country, etc. From Britain to Mexico, no direct shipping or air lines exist, but it is expected that there will be such lines in the not-too-distant future.

Our interim balance is highly active. If the country will be able to maintain the pace of progress during the last few years, Mexico will achieve its aims long before schedule.

## DOCUMENTS

### MEXICO CITY DECISIONS

ON March 8, 1945, the Inter-American Conference at Mexico City, attended by delegates from twenty American Republics, members of the United Nations, came to an end. Its results were described by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, as 'truly historic' and certainly covered a wider range of subjects than has been generally realized this side of the Atlantic.

The Act of Chapultepec (so named after a Mexican fortress three miles south-west of Mexico City) received most attention in Press reports because it was recognized as an important piece of security machinery. By

the terms of this act, the twenty American republics agreed to act together in the use of whatever measures, including force if necessary, that might be required to prevent or suppress aggression against any American State. Provision was made to ensure that the Act of Chapultepec will conform to the principles of the World Organization to be decided at San Francisco.

The Conference also endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as the basis of the charter for a World Organization, but at the same time listed points on which it considered improvements could be effected.

In addition to these two agreements, the Mexico City Conference reached the following decisions:

Agreed to intensify co-operative measures to stamp out every vestige of Nazi influence in the Western Hemisphere.

Formally adhered to the declaration on war criminals made in November, 1943, by Britain, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Agreed that no Axis leader, official or agent guilty of crimes against law and civilization in this war will be able to escape punishment by finding refuge in their territories.

Adopted special measures for strengthening the inter-American system by (a) arranging for regular annual and special emergency meetings of the foreign ministers of the twenty Republics and for more frequent conferences of the American States; (b) by continuing the Inter-American Juridical Committee, the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defence, the Inter-American Economic and Social Council and the Inter-American Defence Board.

On more general issues the Conference approved resolutions to end racial discrimination and to promote participation of women in inter-American activities. It also agreed to urge that the American republics recognize their obligation to guarantee to their people free and impartial access to information and to take measures individually and in co-operation with one another to promote a free exchange of information among their peoples.

Another resolution urged government control of armaments.

The participating countries resolved to complete in the coming year a draft of a detailed charter for the improvement of the Pan-American system including a 'Declaration of the Rights and Duties of States' and a 'Declaration of the International Rights and Duties of Man.'

With regard to Argentina, which was not represented at the Conference, a resolution was unanimously adopted calling upon the Argentine Republic so to guide its policies that it become eligible to sign the United Nations' Declaration and to adhere to the final act of the Mexico City Conference.

It was finally decided that the next Inter-American Conference should be held in 1946, in Bogota, capital of Colombia.

## NETHERLANDS

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, red, white, blue

*Queen:* H.M. Wilhelmina-Helena-Pauline-Maria, Queen of the Netherlands, Princess of Orange-Nassau, born August 31, 1880, succeeded her father, King William III, November 23, 1890; married Henry Duke of Mecklenburg (1876-1934).

*The Royal Family:* H.R.H. Juliana-Louise-Emma-Marie-Wilhelmina, Princess of the Netherlands, Princess of Orange-Nassau, born April 30, 1909; married January 7, 1937, to H.R.H. Bernhard-Leopold-Frederik-Eberhard-Julius-Coert-Karel-Gotfried-Pieter, Prince of the Netherlands, Prince of Lippe Biesterfeld, born June 29, 1911.  
*Daughters:* H.R.H. Beatrix-Wilhelmina-Armgard, born January 31, 1938. H.R.H. Irene-Emma-Elisabeth, born August 3, 1939. H.R.H. Margriet-Francisca, born January 19, 1943.

*Government:*

*President of the Council of Ministers and charged with Co-ordination of Warfare:*  
 Professor W. Schermerhorn.

*Minister for Foreign Affairs:* E. N. van Kleffens.

*Minister without Portfolio:* J. H. van Royen.

*Minister for War:* J. Meynen.

*Minister for the Navy:* James M. de Booy.

*Minister for Overseas Territory:* Professor Dr. Johan H. A. Logeman.

*Minister for Home Affairs:* Dr. L. J. M. Beel.

*Minister for Justice:* Hamt van Kolfschoten.

*Minister for Finance:* Professor P. Lieftinck.

*Minister of Commerce and Industry:* H. Vos.

*Minister for Food Supply, Agriculture and Fisheries:* S. L. Mansholt.

*Minister of Shipping:* J. M. de Booy (*ad interim*).

*Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences:* Professor Dr. G. van der Leeuw.

*Minister of Social Affairs:* Wilhem Drees.

*Office of Works:* Dr. Johannes A. Ringers.

*Minister of Communications and Power:* Th. S. C. J. M. van Schaik.

*Netherlands Embassy in London:* 21A Portman Square, W.1. Tel.: Welbeck 3751.

*Ambassador:* Jhr. Mr. E. F. M. J. Michiels van Verduynen.

*Minister:* Jhr. Mr. P. D. E. Teixeira de Mattos.

*Secretary First Class:* Jhr. A. P. C. van Karnebeek.

*British Ambassador to the Netherlands:* Sir Nevile Bland.

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## DOCUMENTS

SUMMARIZED VERSION OF THE FIRST SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE NETHERLANDS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, PROFESSOR W. SCHERMERHORN, DELIVERED OVER 'HERRIJZEND NEDERLAND' ON JUNE 27, 1945.

IN a sixty-minute broadcast subdivided into twenty-two points, Professor W. Schermerhorn revealed—after paying a tribute to Dr. Gerbrandy—that the former Prime Minister declared that he is prepared to place his knowledge and experience, and also the personal friendships he has made in England at the service of the Fatherland, by helping the Dutch Cabinet in any manner demanded by circumstances.

Professor Schermerhorn added that the Dutch ship of State is afloat again is sufficient cause to give Dr. Gerbrandy a lasting place in the history of the Netherlands, and the nation a reason to remain indebted to him for ever.

Apart from the devastated Netherlands, the Government sees that the first task is the war against Japan and the liberation of Indonesia. Military activity in connection with the call-up, the training and equipping of personnel for the Army, Air Force and Navy will continue to determine a great many aspects of the people's lives. It is therefore understandable that the Queen wishes to entrust the task only to a national Cabinet.

Political life makes different demands on people—different from the demands made in the time of 'illegal' action. But this group of people must be given a place in the community where they will be able to do useful work.

That is why the Cabinet is established on a broad basis.

Concerning the place of Holland in the world, the speaker declared that, apart from the war against Japan, the Netherlands want international co-operation and the restoration of international trade, and that the task of informing other countries about the Netherlands and the Dutch people must be one of the Government's most important functions.

The Dutch Government was adamant on the subject of German reparations, insisting on the return of goods or the replacement of them if they cannot be found. It was also in sympathy with annexation as propounded by Mr. van Kleffens, but realized that this was so important a question that it must be submitted to public discussion.

Concerning military administration, the President announced that this institution is to be liquidated by September, beginning with those sections which can be easily replaced by existing civil administrative bodies, maintaining only those which are necessary in connection with the Allied military organization.

The States General, Provincial States and also the Municipal Councils will be re-established as soon as possible.

The Government is of the opinion that the National Advisory Committee will be very useful in establishing an emergency parliament. (This Committee consists of representatives of political parties, and also new

tendencies, together with representatives of social and economic groups. One-third of its memberships has been appointed by the Grand Advisory Commission of Illegality.)

The Government hopes that the arrangement regarding the emergency Parliament will be accepted in the meeting of the 1940 States General, after this body has been convened and purged in accordance with the Royal Decree on the subject. The emergency parliament will function until the first possible elections in this connection.

Technical features are not the only factor; the Dutch people must have time to form an opinion regarding a multitude of problems.

Mentioning purification, Professor Schermerhorn thought that this was probably the most difficult of all problems, as justice and 'confused instincts' vie with each other.

Determination is required and the arrest, not only of N.S.B.-ers, but also of those who obtained money during the war—arrest until such time as investigations will show precisely how the money was obtained.

A purge of the Press must be carried out as quickly as possible, the rights of the *bona-fide* illegal Press being assured.

Terrible needs—such as housing and simple necessities like clothing, footwear, etc.—must be met as soon as possible. But workmen are needed if they are to be produced. Therefore, care must be taken to see that the needs of these men are fulfilled.

The Government will impress on the people that the power to work is practically the only thing left to the impoverished people. They must help each other. It definitely cannot be allowed that one citizen should have no chair while another has a complete household which he does not use.

A bureau for the registration and direction of first-class men available to assist for restarting industry will be instituted. Science and industry will thus be able to place their combined experience at the service of the reconstruction of the State.

The Government will design a plan for organizing industry in large comprehensive units, in which the Government, the workman and his employers will have their places, and which, with the approval of a higher authority, can make binding arrangements concerning social and economic affairs.

The Government also considers it of the greatest importance to institute research so that the country may regain what has been lost in technical, economic, social and cultural aspects.

It also intends to investigate whether State control is necessary in such institutions as the mines, also what should happen to the confiscated possessions of German and Dutch citizens.

Food for the people is also a cause of much concern. Only if people understand their duty will it be possible to maintain the present rations on the present levels.

Relations with foreign exchanges are of the utmost importance. The most important problems confronting the country are

- (1) Determination on the regulations of the heritage of the last five years.

- (2) Financing the current extraordinary expenditure for war, and the support of reconstruction and restarting of industry.

(3) Covering normal public expenditure, and taking into account the growing Government task.

Regarding the National Debt, measures will have to be adopted to ensure that interest charges remain bearable, and that there is sufficient flexibility in the Budget for other essential public expenditure. Certain increases in taxes are therefore unavoidable.

Concerning social affairs, the opportunity for work must be increased, while a relationship must be encouraged whereby labour conflicts are avoided. Workers, from high to low, in public concerns as well as private undertakings, must be made to feel that their rights, interests and feelings are being considered.

A minimum standard of life should be guaranteed, taking into account the cost of living, and far-reaching changes in education should be realized.

The Cabinet's first concern will be the reconstruction of communications, drying up of inundations, and the rebuilding of everything that has been destroyed.

Professor Schermerhorn also stated his determination that the Netherlands shall regain its former leading place in commercial airlines.

Regarding the Government Information Service, he announced that this will be his own particular concern. He discussed the necessity for such a service, saying that it must also be the ear and eye of the Government service and will keep contact with foreign journalists in public conferences as well as confidential discussions.

With regard to the method of working of the Cabinet, he explained that small councils will be formed; for instance, there will be a Council for Co-ordination of Warfare, in which the Ministers of Overseas Territories and War, the Navy, Foreign Affairs and Shipping will sit. Thus it is hoped that important questions will be solved promptly.

Professor Schermerhorn concluded his address with the words:

'Together we must find new ways of guidance and authority, of liberty and discipline, of criticism and confidence. We wish to hear your wishes and thoughts. You can count on us—we count on you.'

## NICARAGUA

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, blue, white, blue (the arms of the Republic on white band displaying five volcanoes, surmounted by cap of Liberty under a rainbow).

*President:* General Anastasio Somoza.

*Minister for the Government:* General José María Moncada.

*Minister for Foreign Affairs:* Dr. Mariano Arguello Vargas.

*Minister of Finance:* Ing. J. Ramon Sevilla.

*Minister of Development:* Alejandro Abaunza E.

*Minister of Education:* Dr. Mariano Fiallo Gil.

*Minister of Health:* Dr. Luis Manuel Debayle.

*Minister of Agriculture:* General José María Zelaya Cardoze.

*Minister of War, Marine and Air:* Major Carlos Pelleria O.

*Distrito Nacional:* General Andres Nurillo.

*Nicaraguan Minister in London:* Dr. Constantino Herdocia (absent).

*Legation:* 21 Cavendish Square, W.1. *Tel.* Langham 2627.

*British Minister to Nicaragua:* See Guatemala.

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#### NORWAY

*Flag:* Red, with white-bordered blue cross.

*King:* Haakon VII. Born (as Prince Charles of Denmark) August 3, 1872. Elected King of Norway and accepted the crown, November 18, 1905. Married Princess Maud of England, daughter of King Edward VII, in 1896.

*Crown Prince:* Olav. Born July 2, 1903. Married, March 21, 1929, Princess Märtha of Sweden. Born, March 28, 1901. Having issue: Hereditary Prince Harald. Born, February 21, 1937. Princess Ragnhild Alexandra. Born, June 9, 1930. Princess Astrid Maud Ingeborg. Born February 12, 1932.

*Government:*

*Prime Minister:* Einar Gerhardsen.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Trygve Lie.

*Minister of Defence:* Oscar Torp.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Einar Frogner.

*Minister of Church and Education:* Kåre Fostervoll.

*Minister of Supply and Reconstruction:* Egil Offenberg.

*Minister of Justice and Police:* Johan Cappelen.

*Minister of Shipping:* Thor Skjösberg.

*Minister of Labour:* Johan Strand Johansen.

*Minister of Social Welfare:* Dr. Sven Oftedal.

*Minister of Trade:* Lars Evensen.

*Minister of Finance:* Gunnar Jahn.

*Ministers without Portfolio:* Hans Gabrielsen, Pastor Bonnevic-Svendsen, Mrs. Kirsten Hansteen.

*Norwegian Ambassador in London:* Erik Andreas Colban.

*Counsellor:* I. Smith Kielland.

*Embassy:* 10 Palace Green, W.8. *Tel.:* Western 5171.

*British Ambassador to Norway:* Lawrence Collier, C.M.G.



*Norwegian Military Attaché:* General O. Strugstad, Kingston House South, Ennismore Gardens, S.W.7. *Tel.:* Kensington 1430.

*Norwegian Naval Attaché:* Captain J. E. Jacobsen, Dorland House, Lower Regent Street, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Whitehall 1018.

*Norwegian Air Attaché:* Lieut.-Colonel B. Öen, Kingston House North, Princes Gate, S.W.7. *Tel.:* Kensington 9441.

*Norwegian State Information Office:* Norway House, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Abbey 4631.

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## LIBERTY IN LIBERATED NORWAY

BY ERIK COLBAN

*Norwegian Ambassador to Great Britain*

We are fighting with a double purpose: the liberation of our native land and the resurrection of personal freedom on its soil. The liberation of Norway will come with the final defeat of the German aggressors. I am here going to deal with the other problem: the re-establishment of conditions, which will give personal liberty to every Norwegian.

War, and particularly a way of our time, a 'total' war, demands the suspension of much personal liberty. The Germans understood this to perfection. Their Government did not hesitate to sacrifice the liberty of the citizens for the overriding purpose: the realization of their dream of world domination. When the Second World War loomed ahead of us, and more and more people had begun to understand that Great Britain could not for long avoid a tremendous struggle for its very existence as a great Power, it was not a rare occurrence to hear prominent Englishmen say that Great Britain and other peace-loving countries had a lot to learn from the example set by Germany. I thus remember once hearing a prominent Conservative British statesman at a public meeting telling his audience that the Germans during the Hitler régime had been able to solve most of their housing problems as well as their employment problem, while at the same time building up again a strong military power. He wanted Great Britain to make an equal effort, an effort to prepare for the oncoming German aggression, for the gigantic struggle between the British Empire and the German Reich. The measures taken in the United Kingdom to prepare the country for the war included of necessity restrictions on personal liberty, and such restrictions were, of course, made tighter as the outbreak of hostilities drew nearer. And when the war came, its declaration was immediately followed by 'Defence Regulations,' which—at any rate on paper—suspended still more of the old-established personal freedom in this country. Such and such separate clause of these regulations might seem drastic. But on the whole the Defence Regulations were based on common sense, and their existence was a war necessity, as had been that of the D.O.R.A. of the First World War. The guarantee against their abuse was the traditional democratic spirit of Great Britain, represented through Parliament, and through a Government basing themselves upon Parliament, which in its turn drew its legal as well as its political and moral authority from the nation itself. It therefore was possible for the people of Great Britain to forgo for a while the free exercise of accustomed liberties and to assume new duties of many kinds, registration, very heavy taxation, compulsory war work, compulsory military service and strict control of many aspects of civil life and personal activity.

We see the deep controversy, to which the question of maintenance after the war of the system of 'control,' wholly or in part, gives rise in Great Britain. Doubtless this country will find the means to solve the problem satisfactorily, and the successive transition to a revival of old British freedom for everybody is assured, whatever new conditions of life and of economic and social activities may be introduced as a result of experience gained and situations created during the war.

In Norway the picture is entirely different. Restrictions and duties imposed upon Norwegian citizens have in the main been the result of enemy action. There has been no question of the citizen's free will or of his desires. Restrictions and duties have been introduced first and foremost in the interest of the enemy, not in the interest of the Norwegian people. Every manifestation of the free will of the people of Norway has been met by the Germans with ruthless and despotic cruelty. The free word has been banished.

As a result of these conditions, which have now existed in Norway during more than five years, a situation has been created which calls for extreme attention on the part of the Government.

A claim of large personal freedom will make itself felt with explosive force the minute the Germans go down in Norway. The people have during the war lived a double life: one unreal, artificial, in face of the enemy, and another, the real one, hidden underground. Both aspects of Norwegian life in wartime represent endless suffering and sacrifice and almost superhuman patience and great courage. The underground activities have been a permanent fight in the very frontline of war, very often with life at stake. For a people, who for years on end have lived under such conditions, the transition to normal life represents a particularly arduous problem. The Norwegians have in these years not had their lawful Government in their midst. The people have learnt to elude regulations issued by the occupying German military forces or by their helpers in the 'Government' of Quisling. Tens of thousands of men and women working underground and risking their lives in this work have felt rightly proud of what they have been able to do to thwart the plans of the enemy and his infamous helpers. It has been the patriotic duty of loyal Norwegians to oppose the authority of those who have inflicted their rule on the country.

The Norwegians are not a very docile race. They have strong individualistic tendencies. They combine a strong legal outlook with an equally strong sense of the value of individual liberty. Their respect for the rules of law is conditional upon their knowing these rules to be an expression of the will of the people and not dictates of an autocratic state. The country of Henrik Ibsen, whose whole life-work was a gospel of the right of the individual to free personal expansion, will not be easy to govern, after the people have learnt to live in violent opposition to the rulings of public authority. No great perspicacity is needed to understand the difficulty of the problem of bringing such a people back to normal conditions and to secure their co-operation with the lawful Government, when the enemy is driven out.

To my mind the only way in which the problem of Government facing liberated Norway may be satisfactorily solved is for the Government to take the nation into their confidence and to try to create an atmosphere of mutual co-operation between the authorities and the individual

citizen. Such an atmosphere existed in Norway before the war. It is in harmony with the tradition of a thousand years of public life of the country. The material reconstruction in its different aspects is of tremendous importance for the future of Norway. But moral reconstruction, the revival of the good old spirit of mutual relations between the state and its citizens, is of equal importance.

The Government, of course, must govern. But they must govern applying the principle of democracy. How can this be done in a country, where the representative organs of the people have been out of function for many years?

The Government will have to maintain public order, organize relief and re-arrange the whole economic and financial life of the country so as to meet the requirements of the situation resulting from more than five years of enemy occupation and spoliation. They will have to take most urgent steps with a view to the revival of social activities, education, hospital service, etc. Far-reaching measures of rationing will have to be maintained and adapted to immediate post-war conditions. If these activities shall be performed with the maximum of success, real collaboration between the Government of the day and the nation is obviously required.

But collaboration must, if it shall be real and intimate enough to bring 'public opinion' in harmony with public administration, be based upon the fullest possible understanding of the actual situation and its problems by the people and the Government alike. It will therefore be imperatively necessary to enlighten both the public authorities and the 'man in the street' so as to enable each of them to enter into co-operation with as fair general appreciation as possible of all relevant facts. If either the Government or the public remain in the dark, they will distrust each other and the difficulties before them will be greatly increased. I therefore consider a fundamental condition for solving as well as may be the manifold problems facing the Government and the people of Norway after the downfall of the Germans the resurrection without delay of the free word all over the country.

Obviously every citizen will understand the necessity of certain restrictive measures. But, where measures are felt as particularly worrying for the individual, either in his business or in his private life, it is to be feared that some feeling will arise. To avoid the danger of the Norwegians once more 'going underground' they must be shown confidence and be put in a position to make up their own considered opinion. The Government must explain its policy to the public and try to persuade the citizens of the necessity thereof. But this implies the faculty for every citizen freely to express his view, to criticise or to approve according to circumstances. This in its turn implies the rebirth of the free Press and the de-control of other publicity activities as through the cinema and through broadcasting. Obviously, military expediency may demand the maintenance of certain security control. But it should not be impossible in Norway to give perfect satisfaction to reasonable military demands, while at the same time allowing every frank opinion to be voiced in public.

First and foremost the Press:

The Press of Norway has during the war been sorely handicapped, its material installations are probably practically worn out or at any rate in need of repairs and improvements. There is, however, hardly any doubt

that this difficulty can be overcome. Another difficulty relates to the scarcity of paper, this in a country that used to export very great quantities of paper also for printing purposes. It is however to be expected that when the delivery of paper for war use comes to an end, sufficient newsprint will be available for the Press and that it will be unnecessary for the authorities to expose themselves by applying rationing of paper to the suspicion that they favour newspapers of their own opinion while preventing newspapers of other opinions from developing in full.

As to other publicity channels and in particular the cinemas and broadcasting, it is, of course, difficult for the authorities to allow these institutions entire freedom of voicing opinions containing perhaps strong criticism of the Administration. Both broadcasting and cinemas will, however, be able to give the main contents of foreign as well as of home news of a non-controversial character, stating only facts, which may be of interest to the Norwegian public, and without entering into any appreciation of the political character or importance of such facts.

It is furthermore of vital importance after more than five years without access to the Press of the United Nations, that that Press, and particularly the British Press, should once more and without delay be given free and large circulation in Norway. It would be an excellent thing, if copies of leading British newspapers were sent direct to a considerable number of Norwegian daily papers, and that the Norwegian authorities took steps to speed up the transmission and delivery of such papers. In the same way British daily papers, and of course also periodicals, should, as before the war, be on sale through the news agencies in the towns of Norway. This will help the Norwegian citizens to feel able very soon to judge for themselves. They will read in the news from Great Britain of the necessity of continued and quite far-reaching control in such fields as money exchange, clothing and foodstuffs. They will also learn of the need of perhaps quite considerable State interference in different parts of economic life, including imports and exports, during a transitory period.

In full daylight, with full knowledge of the intentions of the Government and of all the arguments upon which these intentions may be based, the people of Norway will rapidly turn to the legal authorities in confidence and in a spirit of collaboration for the welfare of the state implying that of every one of its citizens. The character of the Norwegian is such that there is little or no danger of his abusing his constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech. But the same character renders it unwise to refuse him an opportunity of opening his heart and his mind and of giving his frank opinion on any problem of interest to himself or to the community to which he belongs. Make it difficult for those who during the war have upheld an extensive underground Press to come out in broad daylight, and they will immediately and vigorously continue and further develop underground activities, and this time not against the enemy and the 'quislings,' but against the lawful authorities of the country. This must be avoided, and nothing should prove easier if only our authorities keep constantly and firmly before their eyes the ideal for which the world has been fighting.

I have mentioned the paramount importance of making British newspapers and periodicals easily and speedily available to the public in Norway. I also attach great importance to such assistance as the British Council might be in a position to give. Norway has during five long years

been shut off from the civilized world and will need all the help the free world may be able to give. Public opinion in Norway will be appreciative of information and guidance and advice from outside in order to allow the country to resume active life as a member of the community of peace-loving and free countries. Norway has its own personality, its own particular characteristics. But Norway is also markedly a member of the greater community of nations. Hardly any country has of old more intimate cultural as well as commercial relations with many foreign countries. No wonder, then, that Great Britain can render service to Norway by taking active steps to enlighten the people on the eastern shore of the North Sea as soon as communications can again be established. The Norwegian administration as well as Norwegian public opinion will be interested to know the way in which the British administration and the British people try to solve their after-war problems.

The Norwegian administration will, of course, itself collect information from different foreign sources, including British, but it is desirable that information also comes direct to the Norwegian public and is placed freely at their disposal so as to enable them to form their own independent views.

I hope that the representatives of all shades of British public opinion will realize what important task they have in helping public opinion in Norway to find its bearings. In fulfilling this task, Great Britain will also fortify her own position. In assisting us in opening up our windows to the civilized world, which for so long have been almost hermetically shut, Great Britain will strengthen the friendly and confident relations between the two countries.

One important side of the activity in Norway which I hope the British Council and other British institutions will undertake concerns the educational problem. Schoolchildren and students in Norway have had their education most seriously hampered. The coming generation must be placed in a position to learn enough to be able to face the tremendous task awaiting it during the years of reconstruction. We want a young generation of Norwegians with healthy minds. That is quite as important as healthy bodies.

We will, of course, ourselves do our utmost, but I personally would heartily welcome any assistance from educational institutions in Great Britain. I hope that many British teachers will visit Norway as soon as possible after the liberation of the country. I hope that speakers on political, economic, financial, social and last but not least cultural and religious matters will speak to the old and quite particularly to the young ones in Norway during the period immediately after the Germans have left. It can be done through personal visits, and it can be done through broadcasting and through articles destined for the Norwegian Press. I further hope that our libraries may rapidly come up again to the high standard they had, and that our university and other high schools and our ecclesiastical institutions may obtain contact with their opposite numbers in this country—soon, very soon. In all this work the language should not be too great an obstacle.

I am confident that British friends will understand the position of a country that has fought so well at Great Britain's side during these long, long years, suffered tremendous hardships and very heavy losses in the common cause, and which is in urgent need of having its windows to the

world wide open again. Norway is longing to be once more able to breathe the air of freedom and to achieve personal liberty for everybody, liberty only limited by the decisions of the nation itself taken through proper democratic procedure.

## DOCUMENTS

### FIRST STATEMENT TO PARLIAMENT

BY THE NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER, EINAR GERHARDSEN

THIS Government is imbued with the people's desire that the national unity that prevailed during the years of occupation and resistance shall continue in the task of national reconstruction.

It has been formed after consultation with the political parties, and it represents both those who fought at home and those who fought abroad.

It is based on the democratic principles expressed in the Constitution and in the subsequent evolution of popular government prior to 1940.

It will assert the right and duty of all able-bodied people to work.

Until the people have expressed at the polls what are their desires and views as to the policy to be adopted in the work of reconstruction in the economic and cultural spheres, the Government will make an immediate start to solve the most important problems.

It adheres to the programme outlined by the spokesmen of the Norwegian Labour Party, the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, and the Agrarian Party, and which later has received the support of the Norwegian Communist Party and the Popular Christian Party.

First among the problems to be solved are these:

Further effort to secure the country's supplies and a just distribution of all consumption goods.

Extraordinary and powerful measures to bring relief to the war-torn towns and villages of Finnmark, North Troms and other parts of the country.

A united national effort to exploit to the full all productive resources in order to restore economic life by harmonious co-operation between the State, private enterprise and the trade unions.

The systematic introduction of normal conditions into all branches of public administration.

The safeguarding and preservation of our democratic form of government.

The restoration and further development of the educational and cultural system.

A rapid and strictly just settlement with those who failed us in the national struggle. Those who put themselves at the service of the enemy and those who profited from the people's suffering will relinquish the gains they made in that way.

The restoration of the country's defences.

In foreign affairs, the Government will continue the work begun by the former Government. In particular, it will seek to play an active part in the United Nations' measures to preserve and safeguard peace, and to promote co-operation with our Allies and our northern neighbour countries.

## PANAMA

*Flag:* Quartered, white with blue star, red, blue, and white with red star.

*President:* Enrique A. Jimenez (assumed office, June 15, 1945).

*First Vice-President:* Ernesto De La Guardia, Jnr.

*Second Vice-President:* Raul Jimenez.

*Home Secretary:* Carlos Sucre.

*Foreign Secretary:* Roberto Jimenez.

*Chancellor of the Exchequer:* Ricardo A. Morales.

*Minister of Education:* José Daniel Crespo.

*Minister of Public Works:* Aristides Romero.

*Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry:* Antonio Pino.

*Minister of Social Provision:* Octavio Vallarino.

*Chargé d'Affaires in London:* Eusebio A. Morales.

*Legation:* 1 Palace Gate, W.8. *Tel.:* Western 3836.

*British Minister to Panama:* Mr. Stanley Gordon Irving.

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## PARAGUAY

*Flag:* Three horizontal bands, red, white, blue (with the arms of the republic on white band).

*President:* Dr. Don Higinio Morinigo.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Dr. Horacio Chiriani.

*Minister of the Interior:* Colonel Amancio Pampliega.

*Minister of Finance:* Dr. Juan Plate.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Alfonso E. Dos Santos.

*Minister of Public Works:* Captain Ramon Martino.

*Minister of Defence:* General Vicente Machuca.

*Minister of Public Health:* Dr. Gerardo Bougermini.

*Minister of Industry and Commerce:* Dr. Juan Felix Morales.

*Paraguayan Minister in London:* Vacant.

*Legation:* 51 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.7. *Tel.:* Western 5618.

*British Minister to Paraguay:* N. O. W. Steward.



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## PERSIA (IRAN)

*Flag*: White, bordered with green (top) and red (bottom), with lion and sun in the centre.

*Shahinshah (Emperor)*: Mahommed Reza Shah Pahlavia. Born October 26, 1919. Married in 1939. Fawzieh, sister of King Farouk of Egypt.

*Government*:

*Prime Minister*: Mohsen Sadr.

*Minister of State*: Mostafa Adl.

*Foreign Affairs*: Anooshirvan Spahbodi.

*Finance*: Mahmoud Bader.

*Interior*: Mohsen Sadr (Prime Minister).

*Education*: Gholam Hossein Rahnema.

*Justice*: Kamal Hedayat.

*Roads and Communications*: Nader Mirza Arasteh.

*Public Health*: Dr. Said Malek.

*Commerce and Industry*: Abbas Gholi Golshayan.

*Agriculture*: Dr. Mohammad Nakhai.

*War*: Ibrahim Zand.

*Persian Ambassador in London*: Seyed Hassan Taqizadeh, 50 Kensington Court, W.8. *Tel.* Western 2511-2.

*Counsellor*: Hossein Ghods.

*British Minister to Iran*: Sir Reader William Bullard.

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## PERU

*Flag:* Three vertical bands; red, white, red.

*President:* Dr. Don José Luis Bustamante y Rivero (1945-51).

*President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior:* Rafael Belaunde.

*Foreign Minister:* Javier Correa Elias.

*Minister of Justice and Labour:* Dr. Luis Alayza y Paz Soldan.

*Minister of War:* General Oscar N. Torres.

*Minister of Finance and Commerce:* Romulo Ferrero.

*Minister of Public Works:* Enrique Gongora.

*Minister for the Navy:* Rear-Admiral José R. Alzamora.

*Minister of Education:* Dr. Jorge Bassadre.

*Minister for Health and Social Insurance:* Dr. Oscar Trelles.

*Minister for Air:* General Carlos A. Gilardi.

*Minister for Agriculture:* Enrique Basombrio.

*Peruvian Ambassador in Great Britain:* Jorge Prado.

*Legation:* 52 Sloane Street, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 5943.

*British Ambassador in Peru:* Sir Victor Courtenay Walter Forbes, C.M.G. (1934).

*Peruvian Press:* *El Comercio. La Cronica. El Universal. La Prensa:* Lima.  
*La Industria:* Trujillo. *El Deber:* Arequipa.

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## THE PHILIPPINES

*Flag*: Blue and red with sun and three stars on a white triangle next to the flagpole.

*President*: Sergio Osmeña.

*Secretary of the Interior*: Tomas Confessor.

*Minister of Finance and Reconstruction*: Jaime Hernandez.

*Secretary of Justice*: Delfin Jaranilla.

*Minister of National Defence*: Tomas Cabili.

*Secretary of Health*: Dr. Basilio J. Valdes.

*Minister of Public Instruction and Information*: Maximo Kalaw.

*Secretary of Public Work*: Sotero Cabahug.

*Commissioner of Budget and Finance*: Ismael Mathey.

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## POLAND

*Flag:* Two horizontal bands, white and red.

*President:* Boleslaw Bierut, President of the National Council of Poland.

*Prime Minister:* Edward Osobka-Morawski.

*Deputy Prime Minister:* Wladyslaw Gomolka.

*Minister of National Defence:* Marshal M. Rola Zymierski.

*Minister of Public Administration:* Dr. Wladyslaw Kiernik.

*Minister of Finance:* Konstanty Dąbrowski.

*Minister of Shipping and Foreign Trade:* Dr. Stefan Jedrychowski.

*Minister of Forestry:* Stanislaw Tkaczew.

*Minister of Education:* Dr. Czeslaw Wycech.

*Minister of Justice:* Henryk Swiatkowski.

*Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture:* Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

*Minister of Information:* Stefan Matuszewski.

*Minister for Foreign Affairs:* Wincenty Rzymowski.

*Minister of Public Security:* Stanislaw Radkiewicz.

*Minister of Communications:* Jan Rabanowski.

*Minister of Industry:* Hilary Minc.

*Minister of Health:* Dr. Franciszek Litwin.

*Minister of Labour and Social Welfare:* Jan Stanczyk.

*Minister of Culture and Arts:* Wladyslaw Kowalski.

*Minister of Rehabilitation:* Professor Michal Kaczorowski.

*Minister of Supply and Trade:* Dr. Jerzy Sztachelski.

*Polish Ambassador in London:* H. Strasburger.

*Chargé d'Affaires:* Dr. A. Fiderkiewicz.

*Embassy:* 47 Portland Place, W.1. Tel. Langham 2652-4.

*First Secretary:* Dr. F. Szelag.

*British Ambassador to Poland:* Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck.

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## OUTLINES OF OUR PROGRAMME

BY EDWARD OSUBKA-MORAWSKI

*Prime Minister of Poland*

POLAND's foreign policy must rest on alliances and close co-operation with her neighbours and with those who have a common interest in defence against German imperialism. A foundation of our foreign policy is and will remain the Pact of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Post-War Collaboration with the U.S.S.R. It will be our persistent endeavour that this Pact, so essential to the Polish nation and also desired by the Soviet peoples, that this transformation of Polish-Soviet relations shall be profoundly understood by the whole nation, and that our people shall cherish it like the apple of their eye in the interests of mutual security and of lasting Polish independence. The Government of National Unity stands for close and friendly collaboration of the whole *bloc* of Slav nations, who have, on the whole, no conflicting interests, but one common enemy: imperialist Germany. With all Slav nations Poland has settled her affairs on the lines of mutual amicable understanding, and has started friendly collaboration with them.

For European and world peace, Poland must be both strong and independent. This entails the speediest possible determination of our frontiers on the Western Neisse, on the Oder, including Szczecin (Stettin), and on the Baltic.

*Alliance with the West*

We will endeavour to maintain and consolidate our alliance with Britain and deepen our friendly collaboration with the U.S.A. These two States, with the Soviet Union, made the greatest contribution to victory over Fascism. We will therefore support strongly and seek to consolidate the *bloc* of the Three Great Powers—the U.S.S.R., Britain and the U.S.A.—for their close collaboration is a guarantee of world equilibrium, peace and democratic development. We are deeply convinced that just as the Teheran, Crimea and San Francisco Conferences yielded positive results and settled difficult problems, so the Potsdam Conference will cause a further positive contribution to the progress of a liberated world.

Reborn Poland will be in a position to provide all her citizens with bread and work, so that no Pole should ever have to seek work abroad. Our new access to the sea, our new land routes and waterways will give us facilities for a wide exchange of goods, industrial development at home and the growth of our merchant shipping. Poland enters the world arena, not only as a new reborn body of considerable political importance, but also as a factor of important economic collaboration—among others, as a major exporter of coal.

*Poland's Army*

The reborn Polish Army is one of our most important assets. By freely opening officers' schools to sons of workers and peasants, we have been able to train tens of thousands of new young officers. We are indebted to the Soviet Union for the splendid equipment of our Army, and for the Red Army's expert help. We have started to build up a Polish Navy. The liberation of Warsaw—the result of the Red Army's great offensive—was achieved by the Polish soldier. He carried the standards of freedom to our heroic capital. From there our troops marched west, to win new glory in liberating the Baltic seaboard. The First Army reached the Elbe and took part in the final assault on Berlin. The Second Army fought in the south and went far into Saxony. Our armoured corps fought their way to Dresden and there displayed the worth of Polish arms and armour. Our soldiers, however, did more than just fight the enemy or drive our frontier stakes into the banks of the Oder and Neisse; they helped the country in the sowing campaign, in the execution of agrarian reform and in securing law and order, so that our workers and peasants should be able to carry on in peace with their constructive effort. Many soldiers have settled down in the recovered area of the west. Their presence constitutes a valuable influx of Polish blood and sets up a strong and permanent barrier against our traditional foe. Besides the Polish soldier who fought in the Soviet Union, Poland and Germany, we want those Polish troops who fought on other battlefields.

We have great admiration and respect for those soldiers, sailors and airmen who, although far from Poland, fought for her with the Americans, British and French. To-day we await their speedy return to their homes, mothers and children. The Polish soldier, who hewed out the road back to Poland at Lenino, Warsaw and Berlin, did so for his brethren from Narvik, Tobruk, and Monte Cassino as much as for himself. The Motherland will receive these sons of hers with open arms. Our people want all genuine democrats to return home as soon as possible. The only ones the new Poland will not welcome are the remaining shadows of the Sanacja and of Fascism. In view of our Government's recognition by all the Allies, all Polish units, wherever they may find themselves, must come under the authority of the Polish Government and of the Supreme Command of the Polish Army.

*Personal Freedom*

Immediately after the end of the war, we began to lift restrictions on the personal freedom of the citizens, such as the censorship of mail or the ban on the possession of individual radio sets. In the very near future, we shall rescind the state of war and martial law. A decree of amnesty will be proclaimed very soon. For some time we have been releasing minor offenders on a mass scale. In other words, we are already applying the generous standards of peace. This does not, however, mean that, regarding the maintenance of security or of the relationship between the individual citizen and the State, things have returned to normal. Gangs organized by the enemies of democracy, chiefly operated by the Nationalist armed forces and by Ukrainian nationalists, are still at large in the country and in forests. Banditry is a corollary to all wars, and must be stamped out. The disease of Hitlerism has not yet disappeared completely from

our country. The last month has brought a series of crimes against public security officers, innocent citizens, active democrats, peasants, workers and Jewish citizens. The arm of justice will sooner or later reach all who commit murder or aid and abet it. Since many of the authors of these crimes have been led astray by reactionary propaganda, the Government states that no one will be prosecuted who surrenders his arms of his own free will. Anyone, however, who is caught carrying or hiding arms or engaged in similar criminal activity will be punished with fitting severity. We should like to warn all political speculators in our reactionary camps who cannot accept the new democratic reality that, unless they desist from scheming against the State and take up some productive work, they will be punished with all the rigour of the law. We shall intensify our campaign against all marauders, until law and order and the personal safety of each citizen is fully ensured.

## DOCUMENTS

### SOVIET-POLISH TREATY

THE following communique was issued by Tass on April 22, 1945:

'In the past few days, during the sojourn of the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic, M. Bierut, and the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Poland, M. Osobka-Morawski in Moscow, negotiations were held between the Soviet Government and the Provisional Polish Government on the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration.

'These negotiations, which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, have confirmed the determination of both countries to achieve, jointly with the other United Nations, the earliest and final rout of Hitlerite Germany, and to consolidate also for the post-war period the turn in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland in the direction of the strengthening and further development of the collaboration which has arisen in the course of the joint struggle of the Soviet and Polish peoples against the German invaders.

'The negotiations ended with the signing on April 21 of a Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and Poland. The Treaty was signed in the Kremlin by the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., Stalin, and the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government of the Polish Republic, M. Osobka-Morawski.

'The Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., Kalinin, and the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic, M. Bierut, were present during the signing of the Treaty.

'Besides them, there were present, on behalf of the Soviet Union, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Krushchev; Deputy People's Commissar of Defence of the U.S.S.R., Bulgamin; Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Vyshinsky; the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to Poland, Lebedev; the Director of the Fourth European Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Lavrishchev; the Chief of the Soviet Military Mission in Poland, Lieut.-General Shatilov; Bazarov and Gribanov.



'On behalf of the Polish Republic there were present during the signing of the Treaty the Vice-Premier, M. Gomolka; the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, Colonel-General Rola Zymierski; the Minister of Industry, M. Minc; the Ambassador of the Polish Republic to the U.S.S.R., M. Modzelewski; M. Kowalski, Member of the Presidium of the National Council in Poland; the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Berman; the President of the Chief Board of the Union of Polish Patriots, Mme. Wassilewska; the Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, Major-General Spychalski; and the First Secretary of the Embassy of the Polish Republic, Olszewski.

'During the signing of the Treaty Stalin and Osobka-Morawski exchanged speeches.

'Below is the text of the Treaty.'

#### TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND POST-WAR COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE POLISH REPUBLIC

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic, filled with the determination jointly to bring the war against the German invaders to complete and final victory;

desiring to consummate the radical turn in the history of Soviet-Polish relations towards friendly Allied collaboration which has arisen between the U.S.S.R. and Poland in the course of the joint struggle against German imperialism;

confident that the further consolidation of relations of good neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet Union and contiguous Poland meets the vital interests of the Soviet and Polish peoples;

convinced that the maintenance of friendship and close collaboration between the Soviet and Polish peoples will serve the cause of the successful economic development of both countries both in time of war and after it; striving to support by every means the cause of the peace and security of the nations after the war;

have decided to conclude with this end in view the present Treaty, and appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.;

the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic—Eduard Osobka-Morawski, Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Polish Republic,

who, after exchange of their credentials, found in due form and in good order, agreed on the following:

#### *Article I*

The High Contracting Parties will continue jointly with all the United Nations the struggle against Germany until final victory. The High Contracting Parties undertake to render each other military and other assistance in this struggle by every means at their disposal.

*Article II*

The High Contracting Parties, convinced that the interests of the security and prosperity of the Soviet and Polish peoples call for the preservation and strengthening of a stable and permanent friendship in time of war and after the war, will strengthen the friendly collaboration between the two countries in conformity with the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty as well as non-intervention in the internal affairs of the other State.

*Article III*

The High Contracting Parties undertake also after the termination of the present war with Germany to take jointly all measures at their disposal in order to eliminate every threat of a repetition of aggression on the part of Germany or any other State which would unite with Germany directly or in any other form. To achieve this aim the High Contracting Parties will participate, in a spirit of most sincere collaboration, in all international actions aimed at ensuring the peace and security of the nations, and will contribute their full share to the cause of the materialisation of these lofty aims. The application of the present Treaty by the High Contracting Parties will conform to international principles in the adoption of which both Contracting Parties have participated.

*Article IV*

In the event of one of the High Contracting Parties in the post-war period finding itself involved in hostilities with Germany, the latter having resumed her aggressive policy, or with some other State united with Germany directly or in any other form in such a war, the other High Contracting Party will immediately render to the Contracting Party involved in hostilities military or other assistance and support by every means at its disposal.

*Article V*

The High Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude without mutual consent an armistice or peace treaty either with the Hitler Government or with any other authority in Germany which encroaches or would encroach on the independence, territorial integrity or security of either of the High Contracting Parties.

*Article VI*

Each High Contracting Party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other High Contracting Party.

*Article VII*

The High Contracting Parties will also after the termination of the present war collaborate in a spirit of friendship with a view to further development and consolidation of economic and cultural ties between the two countries, and assist each other in the economic rehabilitation of both countries.

*Article VIII*

The present Treaty comes into force from the moment of its signing, and is subject to ratification within the shortest possible time. The exchange of Ratification Instruments shall be effected in Warsaw as soon as possible. The present Treaty shall remain in force for 20 years from the moment of its signing. If at the end of this 20-year period either of the High Contracting Parties does not declare, twelve months prior to the expiration of the term, its desire to renounce the Treaty, it shall remain in force for the next five years and thus each time until either of the High Contracting Parties, twelve months prior to the expiration of the current five-year term, gives notice in writing about its intention to renounce the Treaty.

In testimony whereof the Plenipotentiaries signed the present Treaty and affixed their seals to it.

Done in Moscow, April 21, 1945, in two copies, each in the Russian and Polish languages, both texts having equal force.

*Upon the authorisation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.:*

STALIN.

*Upon the authorisation of the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic:*

OSOBA-MORAWSKI.

## SOVIET-POLISH FRONTIERS TREATY

IN the course of the past few days, during the stay in Moscow of the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic Bierut, the Prime Minister of Poland Osobka-Morawski and other members of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity, negotiations took place between the Soviet and Polish Governments concerning the conclusion of a Treaty on the Soviet-Polish State frontier and of an Agreement on compensation of damages caused by German occupation.

As a result of these negotiations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendly understanding, a Treaty on the Soviet-Polish State Frontier and an Agreement on Compensation of Damages Caused by German Occupation were signed on August 16.

The Treaty and Agreement were signed in the Kremlin by Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. V. M. Molotov, and Prime Minister of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity Osobka-Morawski.

Present during the signing of the Treaty and Agreement were Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. J. V. Stalin and President of the National Council of the Polish Republic Bierut.

Also present on behalf of the Soviet Union were Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. A. Y. Vyshinsky, Member of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Golunsky, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. in Poland V. Lebedev, N. G. Palgunov, Director of the Fourth European Department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. A. N. Abramov, and others.

Present on behalf of the Polish Republic during the signing of the

Treaty and Agreement were Vice-Premier Mikolajczyk, Minister of Industry Minc, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Modzelewski, Vice-Minister of Industry Ruzanski, and Messrs. H. Raabe, Czajka and Matwin.

Below are the texts of the Treaty and the Agreement.

#### TREATY BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE POLISH REPUBLIC ON SOVIET-POLISH STATE FRONTIER

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic, desiring to settle the problem of the State frontier between the Soviet Union and Poland in a spirit of friendship and accord, have decided to conclude for this purpose the present Treaty, and have appointed their plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

President of the National Council of the Polish Republic—Eduard Osobka-Morawski, President of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Republic,

Who, having exchanged their credentials found in due form and good order, have agreed on the following:

##### *Article I*

In accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference, to establish the State frontier between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Polish Republic along the 'Curzon Line,' deviating from that line in Poland's favour in some districts from five to eight kilometres according to the map in the scale 1:500,000 annexed hereto, conceding additionally to Poland:

(A) Territory situated to the East of the 'Curzon Line' up to the river Zapadny Bug and the river Solokia south of the town of Krylow with a deviation in Poland's favour up to 30 kilometres at the maximum;

(B) Part of the territory of the Bjalowiez Forest in the sector Niemirow-Jalowka situated to the East of the 'Curzon Line,' including Niemirow, Gainowka, Bjalowiez and Jalowka, with a deviation in Poland's favour up to 17 kilometres at the maximum.

##### *Article II*

In accordance with the provisions of Article I, the State frontier between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Polish Republic passes along the following line: from a point situated approximately at zero point six kilometres to the south-west of the source of the river San, north-eastwards to the source of the river San, and then down the mid-stream of the river San to a point situated to the south of the inhabited locality of Solina, then east of Przemyszl, west of Nowa Russka up to the river Solokia, then along the river Solokia and the river Zapadny Bug in the direction of Niemirow-Jalowka, leaving on the side of Poland part

of the territory of the Bjalowiez Forest mentioned in Article I, and thence to the meeting-point of the frontiers of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Polish Republic and East Prussia, leaving Grodno on the side of the U.S.S.R.

Delimitation on the spot of the frontier indicated in the present Article will be carried out by a Mixed Soviet-Polish Commission, whose seat will be in Warsaw and which will begin its work not later than 15 days after the date of exchange of ratification instruments.

### *Article III*

Pending final decision on territorial questions at the peace settlement, part of the Soviet-Polish frontier adjoining the Baltic Sea will pass, in conformity with the decision of the Berlin Conference, along a line leading from a point situated on the eastern shore of Danzig Bay and indicated on the map annexed hereto, eastward to the north of Braunsberg-Goldap to the point where this line meets the frontier line described in Article II of the present Treaty.

### *Article IV*

The present Treaty is subject to ratification, which must take place at the earliest possible date. The Treaty comes into force upon exchange of ratification instruments, which will take place in Warsaw.

Done in Moscow, August 16, 1945, in two copies each in the Russian and Polish languages, both texts having equal force.

*Signed:* On authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—V. M. MOLOTOV.

On authorization of the President of the National Council of the Polish Republic—E. OSOBKA-MORAWSKI.

## AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC ON COMPENSATION OF DAMAGES CAUSED BY GERMAN OCCUPATION

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Polish Government of National Unity, considering that the invasion by German troops of territories of the Soviet Union and Poland and the temporary occupation of Poland and of a considerable part of the territory of the Soviet Union by German troops caused tremendous damages to the Soviet Union and the Polish Republic, the destruction of many towns, industrial enterprises, railways and whole branches of national economy, the elimination of whose consequences requires prolonged and strenuous efforts of the Soviet and Polish peoples,

guided by the desire to render each other every assistance in carrying out the tasks connected with the elimination of the above grave consequences of German occupation,

have agreed on the following:

### *Article I*

In conformity with its statement at the Berlin Conference, the Soviet Government relinquishes in favour of Poland all claims to German property and other assets and also to shares of German industrial and

transportation enterprises throughout the territory of Poland, including that part of the territory of Germany which passes to Poland.

### *Article II*

In connection with the decisions of the Berlin Conference on the procedure of satisfaction of the reparation claims of Poland, the Soviet Government agrees to concede to Poland from its share of the reparations which are to be delivered to the Soviet Union:

(A) Fifteen per cent. of all reparation deliveries from the Soviet zone of occupation of Germany which will be effected in the period after the Berlin Conference;

(B) Fifteen per cent. of that industrial capital equipment, fit for use and complete, which, as established by the Berlin Conference, must be received by the Soviet Union from the Western zones of occupation of Germany, while delivery of this equipment to Poland is to be effected in exchange for other goods from Poland;

(C) Fifteen per cent. of that industrial capital equipment, fit for use and complete, which is to be delivered to the Soviet Union from the Western zones without payment or compensation in any way.

In its turn the Polish Government undertakes, beginning with 1946, to deliver to the Soviet Union annually in the course of the entire period of occupation of Germany, coal at a special agreed price: in the first year of deliveries 8,000,000 tons, in the next four years 13,000,000 tons each year, and in subsequent years of the period of occupation of Germany 12,000,000 tons each year.

### *Article III*

The present Agreement is done in Moscow, August 16, 1945, in two copies each in the Russian and Polish languages, both texts being equally valid.

*Signed:* On authorization of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—V. M. MOLOTOV.

On authorization of the Provisional Polish Government of National Unity—E. OSOBSKA-MORAWSKI.

### PROTOCOL TO AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE PROVISIONAL POLISH GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY ON COMPENSATION OF DAMAGES CAUSED BY GERMAN OCCUPATION

In signing the Agreement between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Provisional Polish Government of National Unity on Compensation of Damages Caused by German Occupation, the signatories agreed on the following:

For precise definition of the kind, terms and methods of deliveries of reparations due to Poland in conformity with Article II, Paragraphs 'A,' 'B,' and 'C,' of the above Agreement, a Mixed Soviet-Polish Commission is to be set up consisting of six members, three members from each party. The Commission will be presided over by a representative of each Party in turn, on mutual agreement.

Done on August 16, 1945, in Moscow, in two copies each in the Russian and Polish languages, both texts being authentic.

*Signed:* On authorization of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—V. M. MOLOTOV.

On authorization of the Provisional Polish Government of National Unity—E. OSOBKA-MORAWSKI.

### SAUDI ARABIA

*Flag:* Green oblong, white device in centre: 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet.'

*King:* Abdul Aziz Ibn Abdul Rahman Al Faisal Al Saud. Born, 1880.

*Heir Apparent:* Emir Saud. Born, 1905.

*Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Acting Prime Minister:* Emir Faisal.

*Minister of War:* Mansour.

*Minister of Finance:* Sheikh Abdulla al Soliman.

*Minister in London:* Sheikh Hafiz Wahba, 6 Eaton Gate, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Sloane 3898.

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### SYRIA

*Flag:* Black, white, green and red vertical bands with three red stars on white band.

*President:* H. E. Shoukri Bey Kouwatly.

*Prime Minister:* Sayed Fares Khoury.

*Minister for Foreign Affairs and National Defence:* Jamil Mardam Bey.

*Minister for Justice and Supply:* Sayed Said Bey Gazzi.

*Minister of Finance:* Sayed Naim Antaki.

*Minister of the Interior:* Sabri Assali.

*Minister of Education and National Economy:* Ahmad Sharabati.

*Minister of Public Works:* Dr. Hikmat Hakim.

*Syrian Minister in London:* H. E. Dr. Najeeb al Armanazi.

*Secretary:* George To'meh.

*Legation:* Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly, London. *Tel.:* Regent 8181.

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## TURKEY

- Flag*: Red, with white crescent and star.  
*President*: General Ismet İnönü (assumed office in 1938).  
*Prime Minister*: Bay Shukru Sarajoglu.  
*Minister for Foreign Affairs*: Bay Hasan Saka.  
*Minister of National Defence*: General Artunkal.  
*Interior*: Bay Hillmi Uran.  
*Justice*: Bay Ali Riza Türel.  
*Finance*: Bay N. E. Sümer.  
*Public Education*: Bay H. A. Yücel.  
*Public Works*: Bay Sirri Day.  
*National Economy*: Bay Fuat Sirmen.  
*Public Health*: Dr. Sadi Konuk.  
*Customs and Monopolies*: Bay S. H. Ürgüplü.  
*Agriculture*: Professor Sevkett Hatipoglu.  
*Communications*: General A. F. Cebesoy.  
*Commerce*: Bay C. S. Siren.  
*Labour*: Bay Sadi Irmak.  
*Turkish Ambassador to London*: Rusen Esref Uenyadin.  
*Counsellor*: Bay Siret Halulu.  
*Embassy*: 69 Portland Place, London W.1. *Tel.*: Welbeck 3326-7.  
*British Ambassador to Turkey*: Sir Maurice Peterson.

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## UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

*Flag:* Red, with star, hammer and sickle.

*President of the Supreme Soviet:* Mikhail Ivanovitch Kalinin.

*State Defence Committee, with Plenipotentiary Powers:*

*Chairman:* Generalissimo Joseph Vyssarionovich Stalin.

*Vice-Chairman:* V. M. Molotov.

*Other members:* Marshal K. E. Voroshilov, G. M. Malenkov, L. P. Beria,  
A. I. Mikoyan, L. M. Kaganovich, N. A. Voznesonsky.

*Government of the U.S.S.R.:*

*Council of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.:*

*Chairman:* Generalissimo J. V. Stalin.

*Vice-Chairmen:* L. P. Beria, N. A. Bulganin, L. M. Kaganovich, A. N. Kosygin, V. A. Malyshev, A. I. Mikoyan, V. M. Molotov, M. G. Pervukhin, M. Z. Saburov, K. Y. Voroshilov, N. A. Voznessensky, A. Y. Vyshinsky, R. S. Zemlyachka.

*People's Commissars of U.S.S.R.:*

*Defence:* Generalissimo J. V. Stalin.

*Vice-Commissar of Defence:* General G. K. Zhukov.

*Deputy Commissar of Defence:* General Vasilevsky.

*Navy:* N. G. Kuznetsov.

*Foreign Affairs:* V. M. Molotov.

*Deputy:* A. Y. Vyshinsky.

*Agriculture:* A. A. Andreev.

*Agricultural Stocks:* K. P. Soubbotin.

*Ammunition:* B. L. Vannikov.

*Armament:* P. I. Parshin.

*Armaments:* D. Ustinov.

*Aviation Industry:* A. I. Shajhurin.

*Building:* S. Z. Ginsburg.

*Building Materials:* L. A. Sosnin.

*Cellulose and Paper Industry:* N. N. Chevotarev.

*Cereal and Livestock Breeding State Farms:* P. P. Lobanov.

*Chemical Industry:* H. G. Pervoukin.

*Coal Industry:* V. V. Vakhrushev.

*Communications:*

*Electrical Industry:* I. G. Kabanov.

*Electric Power Stations:* D. G. Zshimerin.

*Ferrous Metallurgy:* I. T. Tevosyan.

- Finance:* A. G. Zverev.  
*Fishing Industry:* A. A. Ishkov.  
*Food Industry:* V. P. Zotov.  
*Foreign Trade:* A. I. Mikoyan.  
*Health Protection:* G. A. Miterev.  
*Heavy Machine Building:* N. S. Kazakov.  
*Internal Affairs:* L. P. Beria.  
*Justice:* N. M. Rychkov.  
*Light Industry:* S. G. Lukin.  
*Machine Tool Industry:* A. I. Efremov.  
*Meat and Dairy Industry:* P. V. Smirnov.  
*Medium Machine-Building:* S. A. Akupov.  
*Mercantile Marine:* P. P. Shirshel.  
*Non-Ferrous Metallurgy:* P. F. Lomako.  
*Oil Industry:* I. K. Sedin.  
*Railroad Transportation:* I. Kovalev.  
*River Fleet:* Z. A. Shashkov.  
*Rubber Industry:* T. B. Mitrokhin.  
*Shipbuilding Industry:* I. I. Nossenko.  
*State Control:* L. Z. Mekhlis.  
*Textile Industry:* I. N. Akimov.  
*Timber Industry:* M. I. Saltikov.  
*Trade:* A. V. Lyubimov.  
*U.S.S.R. Embassy in London:* 13 Kensington Palace Garden, W.8.  
*Tel.:* Bayswater 3628-9.  
*Ambassador:* F. T. Gousev.  
*Minister Plenipotentiary and Counsellor:* A. Sobolev.  
*U.S.S.R. Embassy to the Allied Governments:* 10 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.7.  
*Tel.:* Western 0023.  
*Ambassador:* Victor Z. Lebedev.  
*British Ambassador to Moscow:* Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr.

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## V. M. MOLOTOV ON POST-WAR WORLD SECURITY

### SPEECH AT SAN FRANCISCO

UPON the instructions of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, I should like at the very beginning of my speech—which I am making on behalf of the Soviet Delegation at this historic Conference—to express my deep gratitude to the Government of the United States of America, and to Secretary of State Mr. Edward R. Stettinius personally, for the immense amount of preparatory work carried out by them prior

to this Conference and also for the excellent organization of the Conference of the United Nations. At the same time, I should like to seize this opportunity to express on behalf of the Soviet Delegation my most sincere gratitude to Mr. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco, for the cordial hospitality extended to the Delegation at San Francisco.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Government of the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the International Conference at San Francisco. The end of the war has drawn near, at least in Europe. The rout of Hitler Germany, the principal aggressor in this war, has become fact. The time has arrived to take care of the post-war period, of the future. This Conference is called upon to consider the question of setting up an organization to protect the general peace and security of the nations after the war. From this it can be seen how great is the responsibility resting on this Conference.

To-day, as always, we must remember the great name of President Franklin Roosevelt. His services in the struggle for the achievement of lasting peace, and in the preparation of this historic Conference, have met with wide recognition among all peace-loving nations.

The Second World War has far exceeded the First World War in the magnitude of its military operations, the size of the armies involved, the number of lives lost, and in the unusually severe consequence for the life of many peoples. Hitler Germany, which started this war, did not shrink from any crime in trying to impose her domination upon Europe, to pave the way to world domination by German imperialism. The mass murders of children, women and old men, the extermination of nations in their entirety, the wholesale destruction of peaceful citizens the Fascists happened to dislike, the barbaric destruction of culture and of recalcitrant men prominent in cultural spheres, the destruction of many thousands of towns and villages, dislocation of the economic life of nations and their incalculable losses—all this cannot be forgotten.

In the past German Fascism not only openly prepared its armies and armaments for the piratic attack on peaceful countries, but Hitlerism also cynically adjusted the ideology of many millions of people in its country to the purpose of achieving domination over foreign nations. This purpose was also served by the illiterate misanthropic theories about the 'German master race,' in whose service foreign nations were supposed to be.

Long before the direct attack on its neighbours Hitlerism openly prepared the criminal war, which it started at the moment of its own choosing. It is well known that Hitlerism found unscrupulous henchmen and sanguinary accomplices. It is also well known that when German Fascism, which had made an easy tour of all Europe, invaded the Soviet Union, it faced an unflinching adversary. The country of Soviets, which had saved European civilization in bloody battles with German Fascism, is with good reason at present reminding Governments of their responsibility for the future of peace-loving nations after the termination of this war.

It is the more necessary to do this, because before this war the warning voice of the Soviet Republic was not heard with due attention. This is no time to explain lengthily why this happened. It cannot be proved that there was no desire to prevent the war. It has been fully proved, however, that Governments which once claimed a leading part in Europe showed their inability, if not their reluctance, to prevent the war, with the consequences of which it will be not so easy to cope.

This Conference is called upon to lay the foundations of the future

security of nations. This is a great problem which it has so far been impossible to solve successfully.

Everybody knows that the League of Nations in no way coped with this problem. It betrayed the hopes of those who believed in it. It is obvious that no one wishes to restore the League of Nations, possessing no right and no power to interfere with any aggressor preparing for war against the peace-loving nations, and which sometimes altogether lulled the nations' vigilance regarding an impending aggression. The prestige of the League of Nations was especially undermined whenever uncere- monious attempts were made to turn it into a tool of various reactionary forces and privileged Powers.

If the sad lessons of the League of Nations must be mentioned at present, it is only in order that past errors, which must not be committed under the label of profuse new promises, may be avoided. It is impossible, however, to count indefinitely upon the patience of the nations, if the Governments manifest their inability to establish an international organization protecting the peaceful life of the people, their families and their young generations against the horrors and hardships of new piratical imperialist wars.

The Soviet Government is a sincere and firm champion of the estab- lishment of a strong international organization of security. Whatever it can do in the common cause of the creation of such a post-war organiza- tion of peace and security of the nations, will readily be done by the Soviet Government. In the solution of this great problem we will fully co-operate with all other Governments genuinely devoted to this noble cause. We are confident that this historic aim will be achieved by the joint efforts of the peace-loving nations despite all obstacles in the way of its achievement.

The work which was carried out at Dumbarton Oaks last year, and which is well known to all of us, is an important contribution to this cause. The representatives of the United States of America, Britain, China and the Soviet Union worked out such principles of an international security organization, as will constitute an important basis for an international organization of a new type. Quite recently, at the suggestion of the late great President Franklin Roosevelt, the Crimea Conference made important supplements to this draft. As a result this Conference has a sound basis for successful work.

Naturally, a new international security organization will be built upon the foundation laid by the United Nations in this war. It is well known that in Europe, in the strenuous struggle against the common enemy, the great Coalition of democratic Powers was founded. The formation of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition ensured the rout of German Fascism and its henchmen. Other nations in Europe, led by this Coalition, have been fighting for their liberation. The Coalition of the Great Powers, with their inflexible will to defend their national rights and promote the liberation of all nations which fell victim to sanguinary aggression, is consummating the task of defeating the enemy of all the United Nations.

This Coalition could accomplish it because it was conscious of its historic responsibility and because it possessed immense manpower and material resources, which it invariably used in the interests of the struggle against the enemy. But we must always remember that acquired prestige is easily wasted. We must not forget certain elementary things like the

lessons of the League of Nations or the lessons of this war, in which the democratic nations rallied against the imperialist Power which considered itself the master of Europe and which intended to impose its will well-nigh upon the whole world.

This Coalition has been forged in the fire of the struggle, and has rendered great service to the cause of the United Nations. It must be admitted that the presence in this Coalition of such a country as the Soviet Union, where relations between great and small nations are based upon equality and true democracy, is of extreme importance. On the other hand it is impossible to overstate the active part played in this Coalition by the United States, which formerly remained aloof from the problem of international organization, and which at present devotes to this cause its initiative and enormous international prestige. This Coalition would have been impossible without Great Britain, which holds an important place in the international association of democratic countries. China in Asia and France in Europe are great nations which strengthen this Coalition as a powerful world factor in the post-war period also.

If the leading democratic countries show their ability to act harmoniously in the post-war period as well, that will mean that the interests of peace and security of nations have finally received a firm basis and protection. But that is not all. The point at issue is whether other peace-loving nations are willing to rally round these leading Powers to create an effective international security organization, and this must be settled at this Conference in the interests of future peace and the security of nations.

An international organization must be created, having certain powers to safeguard the interests of general peace. This organization must have the necessary means for the military protection of the security of nations. Only if conditions are created guaranteeing that no violation of peace or threat of such violation shall go unpunished, and the adoption of necessary punitive measures is not excessively delayed, will the security organization be able to discharge its responsibility in the cause of peace.

The point at issue is the creation of an effective organization to protect the general peace and security of nations, for which all sincere partisans of peaceful development of nations have long been striving, and which always had numerous irreconcilable enemies in the camp of the most aggressive imperialists.

After the innumerable sacrifices borne in this war, and after the suffering and hardships experienced in these past years, the nations' urge for the establishment of such an organization is especially strong. The opponents of the creation of such an international organization have not laid down their arms. They continue their subversive activities even now, though mostly in a hidden, veiled form. For this purpose they frequently use ostensibly most democratic catch-words and arguments, including professed protection of the interests of small nations or of the principles of equity and equality of nations. But in the end it is unimportant what reasons or pretexts have been used to disrupt the establishment of an effective organization for the security of nations.

If even now no such effective organization is created to protect post-war peace, this will be a further indication of inability to cope with this great problem by means of the forces available. But that will not prove that the necessity for such an organization as yet has not arisen, and that such an organization will not ultimately be established.

We must not minimize the difficulties involved in the establishment of an international security organization. With eyes closed we shall be unable to find our way. We must give warning of these difficulties in order to overcome them and, avoiding illusions, to find at last a reliable road to march along, towards the achievement of this noble objective.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, I desire to assure the Conference that in our country the whole people has been raised in the spirit of faith and devotion to the cause of establishing a sound organization of international security. I desire also to assure the Conference that the Soviet people will readily listen to the voice, wishes and suggestions of all sincere friends of this great cause among the nations of the world.

You know that there are millions of people in the Soviet Union who, arms in hand, know how to defend their Motherland to the last. At the same time it is precisely in our Soviet country that the people are devoted with all their hearts to the cause of the establishment of durable general peace, and are willing to support with all their might the efforts of other nations to create a reliable organization for the peace and security of nations. You must definitely know that the Soviet Union can be relied upon in the matter of the safeguarding of peace and security of nations. This great cause is inflexibly supported by our peace-loving people, the Soviet Government, the Red Army and our great Marshal Stalin. It is the most important task of the Delegation of the Soviet Government to express these sentiments and thoughts of the Soviet people.

I conclude my speech by expressing my heartfelt wishes for our joint success in the work of this Conference.

## UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

*President:* Mikhail Grechukha.

*Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars:* N. S. Khrushchev.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:* D. Z. Manuilsky.

## DOCUMENTS

THE statement of the Ukrainian Republic at San Francisco, signed by N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R., and D. Z. Manuilsky, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian S.S.R., reads:

In the name of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic we have the honour to submit the following Declaration to the Conference of the United Nations meeting in San Francisco for the purpose of establishing an international peace and security organization.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, on the basis of its Constitution of January 30, 1937, and the constitutional revisions and amendments adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic on March 4, 1944, recovered the right it formerly had, and voluntarily ceded to the U.S.S.R. in 1922, to establish direct relations with foreign States, to conclude Agreements with them, and to have independent representation at international conferences and bodies set up by the latter. This also fully accords with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., and the Constitutional Acts of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. dated February 1, 1944.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, with a population of more than 40 million, is one of the largest European States.

The Ukraine, lying along the south-west borders of the Soviet Union, within the last thirty years alone has been the object of numerous foreign invasions, which brought incalculable hardships to the Ukrainian people. Therefore, the Ukrainian Republic is among the States most interested in the safeguarding of their security against the attacks of aggressors.

The Ukraine more than once has been the object of sanguinary invasion by aggressors, who have striven for centuries to seize its territories, manpower and material resources and to enslave its people.

The whole world is aware of the Ukrainian people's contribution to the defeat of the common enemy of the United Nations. The stubbornness and heroism which the Ukrainian people, together with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, have shown and are showing in their fight against the German invaders, are well-known, as is the steadfastness with which they defended their land, their big cities—Kiev, Odessa, Kharkov—and other towns and villages of the Ukraine. Their guerilla movement, undermining the enemy's strength and disrupting his rear communications, is also well-known. The sacrifices which they have made in their fight against the common enemy are also well-known. Suffice it to say that during their last invasion of the Ukraine, the German hordes inflicted damage on the Ukrainian people amounting to several milliard dollars, exterminated several million peaceful citizens and drove more than one million people into German slavery.

It is natural that the Ukrainian people, who have made such great sacrifices in this war and devoted all their material resources to the destruction of the enemy, and whose soldiers comprise at least one-fifth of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, should be vitally interested in their efforts, and the efforts of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and of all other peoples fighting against the common enemy, being crowned with lasting peace and leading, after the victorious termination of the war, to the creation of conditions which will guarantee the Ukrainian people and other peace-loving nations against new trials of war.

The Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is confident that the Ukraine, which has played so notable a part in the defeat of the enemy, will be able, with its vast manpower and material resources, to make a great contribution to the consolidation of peace and the maintenance of general security. Upon the basis of the considerations set forth above, the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, prompted by the desire to contribute to the world establishment of guarantees of peace and security after the war for their own people, as well as for other peoples, has decided to submit to the Conference of the United Nations this declaration announcing its wish to join a world organization of security as one of the founder States, and also to participate in the Conference of the United Nations in San Francisco.

#### BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

*President:* Nikofor Natalevich.

*Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars:* K. P. Ponomarenko.

*People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:* K. V. Kisselev.



## DOCUMENTS

THE text of the declaration of the Byelorussian Republic, signed by P. K. Ponomarenko, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Byelorussian S.S.R., and K. V. Kisselev, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Byelorussian S.S.R., reads:

The Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, desirous of securing the sincere, effective participation of the Byelorussian people in all international activities of the United Nations directed toward realisation of the lofty aims of peace and security, addresses to the Conference of the United Nations gathered in San Francisco this declaration of its wish to participate in an international organization for the maintenance of peace and security, which is being created, in the capacity of an original founder-member, and to be represented at the San Francisco Conference.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, in accordance with its constitution and Constitutional Law of March 24, 1944, is competent as a sovereign State to enter into direct relations with foreign States, to conclude Agreements with them, to participate in any international conference or international body, etc. The constitutional prerogatives of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in the field of international relations give her all rights and grounds to participate in an international organization of the United Nations.

The Byelorussian people, whose lands in the past have more than once been invaded by foreign conquerors, are interested, no less than any other peace-loving State, in securing their frontiers, and in a stable, lasting peace.

The Byelorussian Republic, with its population of more than ten million, has made a major contribution to the sacred cause of the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the common enemy—Hitlerite Germany. The German invaders brought innumerable hardships and sufferings upon the Byelorussian people. Invading Byelorussia with no reason, the Hitlerite conquerors systematically carried out the planned destruction of the cities, villages, industry, agriculture and objects of national culture of the freedom-loving Byelorussian people, causing damage totalling about one half of Byelorussia's national wealth. The German Fascists, with the object of conquering and enslaving the Byelorussian people, brutally murdered in the mass peaceful citizens of Soviet Byelorussia.

But even during the hardest times of the German invasion and in the years of incredible suffering under the German Fascist regime of occupation, the Byelorussian people did not pause for a moment in their struggle. About a million Byelorussian warriors joined the Red Army, fighting for their Motherland and the common cause of the United Nations. Hundreds of thousands of citizens, men and women of the Byelorussian Republic devoted to the cause of freedom and peace, joined guerilla detachments and, disregarding their own lives, operated actively in the rear of the German invaders, disorganizing enemy communications, hindering troop movements, embarrassing operations and thus helping the Red Army in every possible way to destroy the German invaders.

The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, aiming in every way to contribute to the cause of creating a stable peace and security together

with the other freedom-loving States, considers it a right and duty to participate in an international security organization, as well as at the Conference of the United Nations in San Francisco.

The Government of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic believes serious harm would be done to the principle of the most complete and widest representation of all peace-loving nations in an international security organization, if the Byelorussian Republic were not represented in this organization as well as at the Conference for the creation of such an organization, and if solution of such important problems as the ensuring of post-war peace and security were dealt with without the participation of representatives of the Byelorussian Republic.

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Flag:* The Stars and Stripes.

*President:* Harry S. Truman.

*Secretary of State:* James Byrnes.

*Secretary of the Treasury:* Fred M. Vinson.

*Secretary of War:* Robert P. Patterson.

*Attorney-General:* Tom C. Clark.

*Postmaster-General:* Robert E. Hannegan.

*Secretary of the Navy:* James Forrestal.

*Secretary of the Interior:* Harold L. Ickes.

*Secretary of Agriculture:* Clinton P. Anderson.

*Secretary of Commerce:* Henry A. Wallace.

*Secretary of Labour:* Lewis B. Schwellenback.

*Under Secretary of State:* Dean G. Acheson.

*Assistant Secretaries of State:* James C. Dunn, Edward S. Mason, William Benton.

*U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain:* John Gilbert Winant, LL.D.

*Offices:* 1 Grosvenor Square, London, W.1. *Tel.:* Grosvenor 4111.

*U.S. Embassy to Allied Governments in London:* 40 Berkeley Square, W.1. *Tel.:* Mayfair 3252.

*British Ambassador to the U.S.A.:* Viscount Halifax.

*Minister Plenipotentiary:* Sir R. I. Campbell.

### PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S ADDRESS TO SENATE, JULY 2, 1945

It is good of you to let me come back among you. You know, I am sure, how much that means to one who served so recently in this chamber with you.

I have just brought down from the White House, and have delivered to your presiding officer the Charter of the United Nations. It was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945—six days ago—by the representatives

of fifty nations. The Statute of the International Court of Justice is annexed to the Charter.

I am appearing to ask for the ratification of the Charter, and the Statute annexed thereto, in accordance with the Constitution.

The Charter which I bring you has been written in the name of 'we, the peoples of the United Nations.' Those peoples—stretching all over the face of the earth—will watch our action here with great concern and high hope. For they look to this body of elected representatives of the people of the United States to take the lead in approving the Charter and Statute and pointing the way for the rest of the world.

This Charter and the principles on which it is based are not new to the United States Senate or to the House of Representatives.

Over a year and a half ago the Senate, after thorough debate, adopted the Connally Resolution, which contained the essence of this Charter. It called for 'a general international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.' What I am now presenting to the Senate carries out completely this expression of national and international necessity.

Shortly before that, the House of Representatives passed the Fulbright Resolution, also favouring the creation of international machinery with participation by the United States.

You and the House of Representatives thus had a hand in shaping the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, upon which the Charter has been based.

No international document has been drawn in a greater glare of publicity than this one. It has been the subject of public comment for months. This widespread discussion has created the impression in some quarters that there were many points of disagreement among the United Nations in drafting this Charter. Naturally, much more public attention was given to the items of disagreement than to the items of agreement. The fact is that there were comparatively few points upon which there was not accord from the very beginning. Disagreement was reduced to a minimum—and related more to methods than to principle.

Whatever differences there were, were finally settled. They were settled by the traditional democratic method of free exchange of opinions and points of view.

I shall not attempt here to go into the various provisions of the Charter. They have been so thoroughly discussed that I am sure you are all familiar with them. They will be so thoroughly discussed on this floor that you and the people of the nation will all have a complete expression of views.

In your deliberations, I hope you will consider, not only the words of the Charter, but also the spirit which gives it meaning and life.

The objectives of the Charter are clear.

It seeks to prevent future wars.

It seeks to settle international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with principles of justice.

It seeks to promote world-wide progress and better standards of living.

It seeks to achieve universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all men and women without distinction as to race, language or religion.

It seeks to remove the economic and social causes of international conflict and unrest.

It is the product of many hands and many influences. It comes from the reality of experience in a world where one generation has failed twice to keep the peace. The lessons of that experience have been written into the document.

The choice before the Senate is now clear. The choice is not between this Charter and something else. It is between this Charter and no Charter at all.

Improvements will come in the future as the United Nations gain experience with the machinery and methods which they have set up. For this is not a static treaty. It can be improved—and, as the years go by, it will be—just as our own Constitution has been improved.

This Charter points down the only road to enduring peace. There is no other. Let us not hesitate to join hands with the peace-loving peoples of the earth and start down that road—with firm resolve that we can and will reach our goal.

I urge ratification. I urge prompt ratification.

## URUGUAY

*Flag:* Four blue and five white squares (surcharged with rising sun, next flagstaff).

*President:* Dr. Juan José de Amezaga (1943–7). Elected, November 30, 1942.

*Vice-President:* Dr. Alberto Guani.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Ing. José Serrato.

*Minister of the Interior:* Dr. Juan Carbajal Victorica.

*Minister of National Defence:* Alfredo Campos.

*Minister of Finance:* Dr. Hector Alvarez-Cina.

*Minister of Public Instruction:* Dr. Adolfo Folle Juanicó.

*Minister of Public Works:* Sr. Tomás Berreta.

*Minister of Industry and Labour:* Dr. Javier Mendivil.

*Minister of Public Health:* Dr. Luis A. Mattianda.

*Minister of Cattle and Agriculture:* Ing. Arturo Gonzalez Vidant.

*Uruguayan Ambassador in London:* Sr. Dr. Don Roberto E. MacEachen.

*Counsellor:* Sr. Don Eduardo D. de Arteaga.

*Embassy:* 2 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. *Tel.:* Abbey 6731.

*British Ambassador in Uruguay:* George Gordon Medlicott Verreker.

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VENEZUELA

*Flag:* Three bands, yellow, blue, and red, with seven stars forming a semicircle on the blue band.

*President:* General Isías Medina-Angarita (April 29, 1941-6).

*Minister of the Interior:* Sr. Doctor José Nicomedes Rivas.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Sr. Doctor C. Parra Pérez.

*Minister of Finance:* Sr. Doctor Rodolfo Rojas.

*Minister of War and Marine:* Sr. Colonel Manuel Morán.

*Minister of Development:* Sr. Doctor Gustavo Herrera.

*Minister of Public Works:* Sr. Doctor Manuel Silveira.

*Minister of Education:* Sr. Doctor Rafael Vegas.

*Minister of Agriculture:* Sr. Doctor Ángel Biaggini.

*Minister of Health:* Sr. Doctor Félix Lairé.

*Minister of Labour and Communications:* Sr. Doctor Julio Díez.

*Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic:* Sr. Doctor Arturo Ulsar Pietri.

*Venezuelan Ambassador in England:* José Rafael Pocaterra.

*Counsellor:* Alberto Posse Rivas.

*Secretary:* Julio Pocaterra.

*Venezuelan Embassy:* 96 Park Lane, London, W.1. *Tel.:* Mayfair 3993.

*British Ambassador in Venezuela:* Ogilvie Forbes.

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Nesbitt, L. M. *Desolate Marches*. London, 1935.

Roosevelt, N. *Venezuela: Peace in the Sun*. New York, 1940.

YUGOSLAVIA

*Flag:* Blue, white, red, with a five-pointed red star in the white field.

*King:* Peter II, born September 6, 1923. Son of the late King Alexander (assassinated, 1934) and of Queen Marie. Married on March 20, 1944, Princess Alexandra of Greece.

*Crown Prince:* Alexander, born July 17, 1945.

*Brothers of the King:* Prince Tomislav, born January 19, 1928. Prince Andrej, born June 28, 1929.

*Regency Council:* Dr. Srdjan Budisavljević, Dr. Anto Mandić, inž. Dušan Sernec.

*President of A.V.N.O.Ž. (Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia), Provisional Supreme Legislative and Executive Representative Body:* Dr. Ivan Ribar.

*Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence:* Marshal Josip Broz-Tito.

*Vice-Premier and Minister for the Constituent Assembly:* Edvard Kardelj.

*Vice-Premier:* Dr. Milan Grol.

- Minister of Foreign Affairs:* Dr. Ivan Subašić.  
*Minister without Portfolio:* Dr. Josip Šmodlaka.  
*Minister of the Interior:* Vlada Zečević.  
*Minister of Justice:* Frane Frol.  
*Minister of Education:* Vladislav Ribnikar.  
*Minister of Finance:* Sreten Žujović.  
*Minister without Portfolio:* Dr. Juraj Šutej.  
*Minister of Transport:* Todor Vujasinović.  
*Minister of Industry:* Andrija Hebrang.  
*Minister of Agriculture:* Dr. Vase Cubrilović.  
*Minister of Forestry:* Sulejman Filipović.  
*Minister of Mines:* Bane Andrejev.  
*Minister of Trade and Supplies:* inž. Nikola Petrović.  
*Minister of Colonization:* Sreten Vukosavljević.  
*Minister of Social Welfare:* Dr. Anton Kržišnik.  
*Minister of National Health:* Dr. Zlatan Sremec.  
*Minister of Post, Telegraph and Telephone:* Dr. Drago Marušić.  
*Minister of Public Works:* Steva Zečević.  
*Minister of Information:* Sava Kosanović.  
*Minister for Serbia:* Jaša Prodanović.  
*Minister for Croatia:* Dr. Pavle Gregorić.  
*Minister for Slovenia:* Edvard Kocbek.  
*Minister for Bosnia and Herzegovina:* Rodojib Čolaković.  
*Minister for Macedonia:* Emanuel Čučkov.  
*Minister for Montenegro:* Milovan Djilas.  
*Yugoslav Ambassador in London:* Dr. Ljube Leontić.  
*Counsellor:* Dr. Franc Kos.  
*Embassy:* 195 Queen's Gate, S.W.7. *Tel.:* Kensington 4903.  
*Press Attaché:* Kingston House, Knightsbridge. *Tel.:* Kensington 2444-5.  
*British Ambassador to Yugoslavia:* R. C. Skrine Stevenson.

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## DECLARATION OF PROGRAMME OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT

By JOSIP BROZ-TITO  
Yugoslav Prime Minister  
March, 1945

THE Government of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, formed on March 7, 1945, has taken up the conduct of affairs of State.

This Government was formed by the fusion of the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee, which was formed by a Decision of the Presidium of A.V.N.O.J. (Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council) on November 13, 1943, having the prerogative of a Provisional Government, and the Royal Yugoslav Government, which was formed abroad in 1944 under the Premiership of Dr. Ivan Subašić, this fusion being in accordance with the agreement concluded between the Prime Minister of the Royal Yugoslav Government and the Chairman of the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee. In addition, a number of representatives of

political groups which had previously been outside both these bodies entered this Government, in accordance with the agreement concluded November 2, 1944.

In this way our country acquired a single Government, which was an indispensable condition for speeding up the successful conclusion of the war, and for rapid and systematic restoration of our country. The present Government, which to-day puts this Declaration before the Peoples of Yugoslavia, is the product of both home and foreign needs. On the one hand, its creation will be an additional stimulus to the rallying of all forces which have not soiled themselves by collaborating with the invaders, or with their servants, and on the other hand, this Government, in a spirit of confidence, will do much to ease the efforts needed for the restoration of our country and to strengthen the friendly relations which we enjoy with our allies. The Government is convinced that the full support of the people and the people's representatives, will endow it with the necessary strength to respond to the severe tasks which lie before us.

Above all, the Government considers it its duty, as the first and principal aim, to the accomplishment of which it will consecrate all its energies, to emphasize that the Fascist invader is to be driven from the still unliberated districts of our country and destroyed, and that, similarly, those quisling and traitor forces which are fighting under the banners of the invaders and of enemy reaction against their own country are to be defeated and destroyed.

The Government will do all to ensure that our Yugoslav Army, with the ubiquitous support of our peoples, will to the full do that duty which is its by right of honour in the united war effort of the United Nations, for the final overthrow of Hitler Germany. To that end the Government will do all in its power to ensure the arming, strengthening, as well as the building up and supplying of the Yugoslav Army, so that this may accomplish the great tasks which stand before it.

The great sacrifices which our Army is making at the front must be answered by the rear in tireless work and material sacrifices for the front line. 'All for the front line,' is and must be our basic watchword.

The Government will do all in its power to ensure that national territory of ours which after the First World War remained outside the frontiers of our State should be united to us, the more so since those districts in the course of this war against foreign invaders have by their common National Liberation uprising already *de facto* joined Yugoslavia and declared themselves for Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. Thereby our peoples have acquired a right, not merely in the name of the principle of self-determination of peoples, not merely by reason of their preponderant majority in those districts, but also in particular since they have in those districts by their armed struggle afforded a great service to the common cause of the United Nations.

The great national democratic achievements of our peoples, won at the cost of immeasurable sacrifice, and expressed in the Decisions of the Second Session of A.V.N.O.J. on November 30, 1943, at Jajce, will be the basis of the constructive work of the Government.

Cherishing as something sacred the equality of rights of all peoples of Yugoslavia, the Government will continue the work of strengthening the fraternity among its peoples, conscious that this is the foundation stone of a more happy future, of material well-being, and peace for them all.



To-day it is clear to everybody that such settlement of the relationship between our peoples has given our State commonwealth, Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, a standing and strength such as in the past Yugoslavia never had. But at the same time, the hard fight for liberty has once more affirmed and shown that Yugoslavia is a vital need for all its peoples, that it is not a fortuitous formation, but a historical need without which the liberty of none of its peoples would be possible.

The democratic rights which our peoples themselves have won in the course of the National Liberation War, and which are in the first instance expressed in the structure of the People's Government, must be preserved and extended to the full extent possible under the war conditions of the moment. This particularly applies to the civil liberties, such as liberty of person, liberty of confession, freedom of speech, Press and association.

The Government will pay particular attention to the question of the severe punishment of war criminals, of those who served the invaders, our traitors, so that men of guilt, stained with the blood of our people, shall not escape the punishment they merit. Hundreds and thousands of innocent victims demand this of us. It is the Government's view that the guiding principles in the fulfilment of this task must be justice and a striving for the preservation of peace and order in our country from harm by the enemies of democracy. Taking these as the guiding principles, and being of the opinion that the mere desire for revenge cannot be the real way to ensure public order and a sound State edifice, the Government will provide full opportunity for all those who have been misled to requite their past errors by working in the right way. In loyalty to the democratic principles, and firmly resolved that the negative moral and political results of enemy occupation and of the war should be liquidated as soon as possible, the Government will do all in its power to see that all who have not stained themselves by collaboration with the invaders and their quislings, shall take an active part in the reconstruction of the country.

In the first place, the Government, together with the Presidium of A.V.N.O.J., will take all measures for A.V.N.O.J. and its Presidium to be completed by representatives of progressive, political, democratic groups which have not been compromised by collaboration with the enemy. The Government is of the view that the final great war effort of our country could not be successful if at the same time all in our own power was not undertaken urgently, and with the maximum of systematic effort, to build up the economic strength of our country which has suffered so heavily in the war. The building up of our economic life shows itself indeed to be the central question of the home front. The disruption of our economy as a consequence of the war is so great, that planned intervention by the State in the organization and conduct of economic reconstruction and for the regulation of our economic life, is a need which must be recognized as an unconditional law. Only in such fashion can all the means at our disposal, which must be organized and made use of, be satisfactorily brought together. This refers equally to local reconstruction, in particular Federative Units, and to reconstruction of those important branches of production which serve the country as a whole. On the other hand, the Government will guarantee full liberty and support to that private initiative in economic life, without which the swift reconstruction of our country is inconceivable. Particular attention will be given to the

co-operative system, which will play an important part in the reconstruction of the country.

Our country suffered relatively severe economic destruction. For this reason our peoples expect, and rightly, that both in the task of overcoming shortages and in the task of economic reconstruction of the country, they will meet with the full support of our Allies, a support proportionate to those sacrifices which were so unselfishly made for the common cause of the United Nations.

The Government considers it necessary particularly to emphasize that it has been and still is the broader ranks of the people, the working people, who have borne the heaviest sacrifices in lives and material goods in the liberation of our country. For this reason, with the raising of our economic strength for the purpose of final victory over the enemy, is indissolubly tied up the task of the rapid improvement of food and other supplies, as well as of the complete economic and social position of all strata, but first and foremost in those districts where economy has been most seriously destroyed, i.e. specifically in the districts which have given the greatest sacrifices in lives for the liberation of our country.

As soon as possible the Government will tackle the solution of such questions as: concerning the peasantry—agrarian reform, settlement of population so that the poorer peasantry may acquire the use of land with necessary stock; concerning the peasantry in handicrafts—the solution of the problem of debts; concerning the workers, manual and black-coated—the solution of the problem of material improvement of their economic position, the creation of conditions of social and cultural improvement, social insurance, and so on. The Government will pay particular attention to war victims: war orphans, the families of prisoners-of-war, disabled persons, the dependants of fighting men and prisoners-of-war.

Concerning social measures, the Government will remain in closest contact with the trades unions and with the leaders of peasant and consumer co-operatives. To be able to fulfil all these tasks, the Government, resting on democratically elected popular authorities and in close contact and co-operation with the Governments of all the Federative Units, will give its full attention of the further elaboration of the people's administration in a broad democratic spirit. It will assist the local organs of administration to respond to the interests of the people as efficaciously as possible, and further to equip themselves for their role of custodians of the people's liberty and the popular sovereignty, as also for the work of effecting the great tasks of reconstruction and social progress.

To this end, the Government will undertake all necessary measures to settle the question of legislation and judiciary as soon as possible. All questions concerning the competency of the central and Federative Governments will, until the Constituent Assembly, be settled by as close as possible co-operation and fraternal negotiation with the Federative Government. To achieve such co-operation in as full a measure as possible, and to organize the people's administration as successfully as possible, the Governments of the Federative Units are to be formed as soon as possible, to be the executive and administrative organs of the various Federative Councils (Parliaments, Assemblies—Vece, Skupstina, Svet and Sobranje).

The Government takes the attitude that the shortest road to the final solution of the structure of the State is to prescribe by ballot for the

Constituent Assembly, with a general franchise for elections for the Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible date after the liberation of the whole country. This applies equally to the Federative Units. Naturally this freely elected Constituent Assembly will have the last word concerning the Decisions and Laws which A.V.N.O.J. and the subsequent Provisional National Parliament (the formation of which, in co-operation with the Presidium of A.V.N.O.J., will be one of the first concerns of the Government) have passed or will have passed. The Government will take all measures requisite for proceeding with new general elections for the lower organs of administration, for the liberated Federative Units, the electoral principle throughout to be the same.

Our heroic and glorious Yugoslav Army, by its triumphant achievements, its victorious battles, under the most difficult conditions, and by the great part it played for the common cause of the United Nations, has earned historic merit, not merely concerning the liberty and independence of our peoples, but also regarding the international prestige of our country, raising it to heights unattainable hitherto. Our great Allies, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, continue to render serious support and assistance to our Army and our peoples. Our war ties with them are unbreakable, and will be still further strengthened and developed in the final phase of the war. Our peoples will fight shoulder to shoulder with our Allies to final victory, i.e. until the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany.

The Government will continue its friendly relations with our Allies also when it comes to building the post-war world. Our peoples are confident that in that period they will enjoy the support of the Allies in the realization of their justified national demands, as they had their support in the course of the war against the common enemy. The Government will participate in international institutions and international work with the aim of ensuring peace.

In this liberation struggle our peoples have unambiguously shown that they have made their great sacrifice of life not only for liberation from foreign enemies, but also for the internal progress and renaissance, deeply infused with a yearning to realize true democracy. Our peoples have discovered and made their own new foundations of a people's authority and desire to be both architects and administrators of their own future.

Before the eyes of our peoples, who have gone through such horrors and frightful massacres and destruction at the hands of foreign invaders and the traitors at home as could never before have been conceived, floats the great aim of a new life of which they with their own hands will be the builders, just as they themselves created the very conditions for that better future and for material well-being. The Government will in all its work keep this desire of our peoples before its eyes.

The Government concludes this first Declaration of Programme with an appeal to the whole people of Yugoslavia, to all progressive persons and men of goodwill, without regard to divided opinions on detail or on the way in which these difficult tasks before us are to be achieved, to join as an indivisible unit in the struggle for victory over the enemy and for the reconstruction of our country. It is up to all to place that great national interest before all material interests, and not to be led aside at the instigation of reactionary or unprincipled persons, and not give way to any deep misgivings which may result from the disrupted state of things after four

years of enemy occupation and struggle. By such emphasis on fundamental questions, public order and the severe justice itself might sometimes seem not to be order or justice. The Government will make every endeavour in this work of building up public order, to steer clear of arbitrary scales of measurement, and those errors which are always possible here and there when it is a case of a fighting advance to be accomplished against both open and concealed enemies. The underlying idea of our programme is simply to achieve full liberation of the country, peace and reconstruction by the efforts of the whole people as soon as we can.

### III. THE UNITED NATIONS LEADERS

ACHESON, DEAN G. U.S. Under-Secretary of State since 1945. Born, 1893. Educated at Yale and Harvard. Private Secretary to Associate Justice of U.S. Supreme Court, 1919-33. Under-Secretary to the Treasury, 1933. Assistant Secretary of State, 1941-5.

ADDISON, VISCOUNT CHRISTOPHER. Dominions Secretary since August, 1945. Leader of the Labour Party in the House of Lords. Born in 1869. Educated at Trinity College, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Examiner in Anatomy at Cambridge and London Universities. Liberal M.P. for Hoxton Division, 1910-22. Labour M.P. for Swindon Division, 1929-31 and 1934-5. Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, 1914-15, and to the Office of Munitions, 1915-16. Minister of Munitions, 1916-17. Minister in Charge of Reconstruction, 1917. First Minister of Health, 1919-21. Minister without Portfolio, 1921. Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, 1929-30. Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, 1930-31.

AGHNIDES, THANASSIS. Greek Ambassador in London and Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Former Under-Secretary General of the League of Nations. Born in 1889 and educated in Asia Minor at the American College of Anatolia. Law studies at Paris, where he also took great interest in the history of music (several publications), and a lawyer's practice at Constantinople. Director of the Press Office of the Greek Legation in Britain, 1917-18. From 1919 to 1941 at Geneva, where he was secretary to a great number of conferences. Disarmament (1932). Dardanelles (1939). Nyon Conference (1937).

AGUIRRE, SALVADOR. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Honduras. Doctor of Law. Has been for a long time Editor of the Daily, *The Democrat*, President of the Supreme Court of Justice, and has previously held the posts of Minister of Finance and Minister of Home Affairs.

ALBARDA, JOHAN WILLEM. Former Netherlands Minister of Communications since 1939. Took his degree at the Delft Technical University and became a teacher of mathematics. From 1911 to 1913 Director of Amsterdam Labour Exchange. Member of the States General, 1913-39. President of Labour Party in the Second Chamber.

ALEXANDER, ALBERT VICTOR. Born 1885. Labour M.P. First Lord of the Admiralty, 1929-1931 and since 1940.

AL-UMARI, ARSHAD. Iraq Foreign Minister. Born, April 9, 1888. Graduate of Royal Engineering High School, Istanbul, 1912. Elected Deputy, 1925, and was Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs. Mayor of Baghdad, 1931. Director-General of Irrigation and Survey, 1933. Minister of Economics and Communications and Deputy of Dulaim, 1934-5. Director-General of Municipalities at the Ministry of the Interior, 1936.

AMEZAGA, DR. JUAN JOSÉ DE. President of Uruguay. Born, January 28, 1883, in Montevideo. Lawyer. Visited Europe, 1906 and 1907. Professor of Philosophy. Deputy. He has held many ministries.

ANDERSON, CLINTON PRESBA. United States Secretary for Agriculture since May, 1945. Born in 1895. Educated at Dakota Wesleyan University and Michigan University. Entered general insurance business. Elected President of Rotary International, 1932-3. Treasurer of New Mexico, 1933. Elected to Seventy-seventh Congress, and in Seventy-eighth Congress was Chairman of the House Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures. Member of Ways and Means Committee. Chairman of the House Special Committee to Investigate Food Shortages.

ANDERSON, SIR JOHN. Former Chancellor of the Exchequer. Born in 1882. Studied at Edinburgh and Leipzig Universities. Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Home Office, 1922-32. Governor of Bengal, 1932-7. Lord Privy Seal and Minister of Civil Defence, 1938-9. Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security, 1939-40. Lord President of the Council, 1940-3. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1943-5.

ARAGAO, J. J. MONIZ DE. Brazilian Ambassador to Britain. Born in 1887. In the diplomatic service since 1908. Represented his country at Copenhagen and Vienna. Appointed Ambassador to Germany in 1935. Was transferred to Britain in 1940.

ARANHA, OSWALDO. Former Foreign Minister of Brazil. Born in 1894. Was educated at Rio and Paris (Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales). Graduated at the Rio University and became an Attorney. Minister of Justice in 1930. Minister of Finance in 1931. Ambassador to Washington 1934-8, when he was appointed Foreign Minister.

ARGENLIEU, GEORGES THIERRY D'. French Rear-Admiral. Member of the Free French Committee. Born in 1889. Fought in 1914-18 and entered the Carmelite Order after the war. Called up again in 1939, made prisoner, escaped and joined de Gaulle. Head of the first mission to Dakar.

ATHLONE, ALEXANDER AUGUSTUS FREDERICK WILLIAM ALFRED GEORGE CAMBRIDGE, EARL OF. Governor-General of Canada since 1940. Born in 1874. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst. Major-General. Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, 1923-31.

ATTLEE, CLEMENT RICHARD. Prime Minister since 1945. Born in 1883. Went to Oxford University and was called to the Bar in 1905. Lecturer at the London School of Economics, 1913-23. Fought in the war of 1914-18. Mayor of Stepney, 1919-20. M.P. (Labour) since 1922. Postmaster-General in the second Labour Government. Lord Privy Seal, 1940-2. Secretary of State to Dominions, 1942-3. Lord President of Council, 1943-5.

AUBOYNEAU, PHILIPPE. French Rear-Admiral. Born in 1899. Educated at the Ecole Navale. Liaison officer with British Fleet in Alexandria, 1939-40. Joined General de Gaulle and became National Commissioner for the Navy. Assistant Chief of Naval Staff since 1943.

- BALTHAZAR, AUGUSTE. Former Belgian Minister of Public Works and Communications. Born in 1893. M.P. since 1929. Director of *Vooruit*. Became in 1938 Minister of Public Works and in 1939 Minister of Labour and Social Welfare. Joined London Government in 1943 and went on a special mission to Canada.
- BARUCH, BERNARD MANNES. Former American Director of the Office of War Mobilisation. Born in 1870. Educated New York. Economist. Became Chairman of War Industries Board in 1918. Economic Adviser of the American Peace Commission. Author of books on economy.
- BATISTA, FULGENCIO. Former President of Cuba. Born in 1901. A former private in the Cuban Army. Clerk at Staff Headquarters. Became Chief of Staff of the Army, after having taken part in the uprising against President Machado, 1931-3. Assumed office as President in October, 1940.
- BEASLEY, JOHN ALBERT. Australian Vice-President of the Executive Council in the War Cabinet. Born in 1895. President of the Electrical Trades Union, 1923-8. Member of New South Wales Labour Council and then became a Member of the Federal Party, 1922-8. Assistant Minister for Industry and External Affairs, 1929-31. Became Federal Leader of the Australian Labour Party, March, 1931.
- BEAVERBROOK, WILLIAM MAXWELL AITKEN, LORD. Former Lord Privy Seal, 1943-5. Born in 1879. Educated in Canada. Company Director at Montreal and Halifax. M.P., 1910-17. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Minister of Information in 1918. Newspaper magnate and principal shareholder of Express Newspapers. Minister for Aircraft Production, 1940-1. Minister of Supply, 1941-2, of War Production, 1942.
- BECH, JOSEPH. Luxembourg Minister of Foreign Affairs. Honorary Minister of State. Born in 1887, he studied in Paris. After taking the degree of a Doctor of Law, practised as a lawyer in Luxembourg, where he entered Parliament in 1914. He entered Government in 1921 and has remained there ever since: Minister of Justice and Home Affairs, 1921-5. Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1926-37. Since 1937 Honorary Minister of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Delegate at Geneva (and sometimes President of the League of Nations Council), 1926-40.
- BECHYNE, RUDOLF. Czechoslovak statesman. Socialist leader, former metal worker. Born in 1881. Took active part in the first revolt against Hapsburg rule and held several ministerial posts in subsequent Republican governments. Deputy Prime Minister from 1932-8. Chairman of the State Council in 1940-1.
- BEELAERTS VAN BLOKLAND, JONKHEER FRANS. Vice-President of the Netherlands State Council. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Born in 1872, he became a Doctor of Law at Leyden University and in 1902 became Minister to China. From 1911 to 1919 he was Director of the Political Section of the Netherlands' Foreign Affairs and was delegated to the Washington Conference, 1921-2. In 1927, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was given the title of a Minister of State in 1936.

**BENEŠ, DR. EDUARD.** President of the Czechoslovak Republic, born in 1884. Minister of Foreign Affairs in each successive government from 1918 until December, 1935, when he succeeded President Masaryk. Studied in Paris; Doctor of Law and Doctor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne and at Dijon University. Professor of sociology. Having taken part in the organization of the Maffia, an Anti-Austrian Czech movement, he became the collaborator of Professor Masaryk, whose pupil he had been. In September, 1915, went to Paris, where he re-joined T. C. Masaryk. Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak National Council. In 1918, Dr. Beneš became Minister of Foreign Affairs. Established the Little Entente with Rumania and Yugoslavia. Concluded a military alliance with Soviet Russia when France had done so previously. On several occasions acted as the Chairman of the League of Nations Council and was *rapporteur général* on disarmament. Resigned under German pressure as President of the Republic in October, 1938. Assumed leadership of the new Czechoslovak Liberation movement on March 15, 1939, when Hitler entered Prague. In July, 1940, resumed his duties as President of the Czechoslovak Republic by appointing members of the new Government, at the same time taking over supreme command of the Czechoslovak armed forces. Returned to Prague in 1945.

**BERIA, LAVRENTI.** Soviet People's Commissar for Internal Affairs and Public Security since 1938. Born in 1899 in Caucasus. Joined Baku Communist Party in 1917. Chief of Public Security Organisation in the Caucasus, 1921-31. Secretary-General of Transcaucasian Regional Committee of Communist Party in 1932. Member of Supreme Soviet.

**BERNHARD, PRINCE OF THE NETHERLANDS, PRINCE OF LIPPE-BIESTERFELD.** Born in 1911. Married in 1937 Princess Juliana of the Netherlands. Chief Liaison Officer between the Netherlands and the British Forces. Major-General in the Netherlands Army. His first daughter, Princess Beatrix (born in 1938), is heir-presumptive to the throne.

**BEVAN, ANEURIN.** Minister of Health since August, 1945. Born in 1897. Educated at Serhowy Elementary School and Central Labour College. Mines dispute agent, 1926. Since 1928, County Councillor of Monmouthshire. Since 1929, Labour M.P. for Ebbw Vale.

**BEVERIDGE, SIR WILLIAM HENRY.** President of the Royal Economic Society. Born in 1879. Educated at Oxford. Vice-Chancellor of London University, 1926-8. Master of University College, Oxford, since 1937. Prepared Beveridge Plan for Social Service.

**BEVIN, ERNEST.** Foreign Secretary since 1945. Minister of Labour and National Service since 1940-5. Born in 1884. Became Secretary-General of Transport and General Workers' Union. M.P. (Labour) since 1940.

**BIANCHI, MANUEL.** Chilean Ambassador to Britain since 1941. Born in 1895. Represented his country in Panama, Venezuela and Cuba before being appointed Ambassador to Mexico. Held the Office of Foreign Minister.

**BIDAULT, GEORGES.** Minister of Foreign Affairs in French Provisional Government. Born, October 5, 1899. Teacher of History and a journalist. Taught at Rheims and at Louis-le-Grand, Paris. Co-editor and



political adviser of the *Aube*, organ of the Christian democrats. Supported the Spanish Republicans, and at Munich stood against appeasement. In 1940 he volunteered as an Infantry Sergeant and was taken prisoner at Soissons. Liberated in 1941 he planned in the Resistance Movement and taught at Lycée du Parc at Lyons. In 1942 he was in the resistance movement at Paris, and in the movement 'combat.' Was president of the C.N.R. in 1943. In 1944 was Minister of Foreign Affairs, in December he accompanied de Gaulle to Moscow, and was a signatory of the Franco-Russian Agreement.

**BIDDLE, ANTHONY JOSEPH DREXEL, JNR.** Former American Ambassador to the Exiled Governments in Britain. Born in 1897. Served in the War of 1914-18. Minister to Norway, 1935-7, and to Poland since 1937. Accompanied the Polish Government to France, where he also deputized as Ambassador to the French Government in Tours and Bordeaux.

**BIERUT, BOLESŁAW.** President of the National Council of Poland (Provisional Parliament). Born, 1892, in Lublin. Expelled from school in 1905 for taking part in a students' strike. Active worker of the co-operative movement and Chairman of the Society 'Future.' In 1927 left Poland as a political refugee and studied economics in Vienna and Berlin. After his return was sentenced in 1933 to seven years' imprisonment for his anti-Fascist activity. Active member of underground resistance during German occupation and co-founder of National Council.

**BLANCK, GUILLERMO DE.** Cuban Minister to Britain. Born in 1886. Educated in U.S.A. and France. Entered Diplomatic service in 1906 and became Secretary-General of the Cuban Peace Delegation to Versailles. Was Minister to Switzerland and permanent Delegate to the League of Nations. Accredited also to the exiled Governments in London and given the personal rank of Ambassador in 1943.

**BODSON, VICTOR.** Luxembourg Minister of Justice. Born, 1902. Studied law at Strasbourg, Montpellier, Algiers. Took his degree in 1928. Socialist Deputy in 1934. Vice-President of the Chamber, 1937-40. Minister of Justice since 1940.

**BOLKESTEIN, GERRIT.** Former Netherlands Minister of Education. Born in 1890. Became at the age of twenty-two head of the Amsterdam High School, and was in 1917 made Inspector of Secondary Education. A member of the Liberal Democratic Party, he became in 1939 Minister of Education, Science and Arts. Published several books on educational subjects.

**BONNET, HENRY.** French Ambassador to Washington. Former National Commissioner of Information. Born in 1888. Went to Ecole Normale Supérieure and attended Paris University. After many years in the League of Nations' Secretariat, was appointed in 1930 Director of the League's Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris.

**BRUCE, STANLEY MELBOURNE.** Australian High Commissioner in Britain since 1933. Born in 1883. Educated at Cambridge. Prime and Foreign Minister of Australia, 1923-9. President of Montreux Conference in 1936.

- BUDIENNY, SEMION MIKHAILOVITCH. Russian Marshal and Assistant People's Commissar for Defence since 1940. Born in 1883. Fought in Russo-Japanese War as a private, after having been for over ten years a farm-hand. Sergeant in the War of 1914-17. Joined Communist Party in 1919. Fought against Poland in 1920, attended Moscow War Academy. Made a Marshal in 1935. Was appointed Commander of the Moscow Military District in 1937-40. People's Commissar of Railway 1935-7, Heavy and Fuel Industry in 1937. C.-in-C., South-western Front, in 1941.
- BUHL, VILHELM. Danish Prime Minister since 1945. Born in 1891. Labour politician. Director of Copenhagen Tax Office, 1937. Was head of the Government in 1942.
- BUSTAMANTE Y RIVERO, DR. JOSÉ LUIS. President of Peru since 1945. Born in Arequipa in 1894. Educated at the College San José de Arequipa. Went to University, 1911. Doctor of Jurisprudence and Advocate, 1918. Doctor of Political Science and Economics, 1928. Syndic of the Municipality of Arequipa, 1922. Assistant Judge and university lecturer, 1923-34. Peruvian Minister in Bolivia, 1934-8. Peruvian delegate to the Eighth Interamerican Conference at Lima, 1938. Peruvian Minister to Uruguay, 1939-42. Minister in Bolivia, 1942-4.
- BYRNES, JAMES F. U.S.A. Secretary of State since 1945. Born in 1903. Admitted to the Bar. Official Court Reporter, 1900-8. Member of Sixty-second to Sixty-eighth Congresses. Practised Law at Spartanburg, 1925-31. U.S. Senator, 1931-43. Supreme Court Justice, 1941. Director of Economic Stabilization, 1943. Director of War Mobilization, June, 1943.
- CADOGAN, SIR ALEXANDER. Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs since 1938. Born in 1884. Educated at Eton and Oxford. Entered diplomatic service in 1909. Minister to China in 1934 and Ambassador, 1936-8.
- CAMACHO, MANUEL AVILA. President of Mexico since 1940. General. Formerly Minister of War.
- CARDENAS, LAZARO. Mexican Minister of National Defence. Born in 1895. General of the revolutionary Army, engaged in warfare between 1915 and 1929. Provincial Governor. In 1931 became Minister of the Interior; in 1933 Minister of War and of the Navy. President of the Republic from 1934-40.
- CARIAS, TIBURCIO. President of Honduras. Doctor of Law and General. Born in Tegucigalpa in 1876, a son of General Calixto Carias, a distinguished soldier of his time. Took his legal degree in 1899. President of the National Congress; he was also Governor of a Province and Secretary of State before assuming, in 1933, the Presidency of the Republic.
- CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE, BARON EMILE. Belgian Ambassador in London since 1927. Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps. Born in 1871. Entered diplomatic service in 1892. Minister to Washington and Peking. Ambassador to U.S.A., 1919-27.

- CASEY, RICHARD G. Australian politician. Born in 1890. Educated in Melbourne and Cambridge Universities. M.P. Treasurer of the Commonwealth, 1935-9. Minister of Development and Supply, 1937-40. Minister to U.S.A., 1940-2. Governor of Bengal, 1933. British Minister of State, Resident in Middle East 1944.
- CASSIN, RENÉ. Professor. President of the French Commission of Enquiry into War Crimes. Doctor of Law in 1914. Fought in First World War. Founded the International Confederation of Wounded. Professor of Civil Law, Paris University. From 1940-3 General de Gaulle's National Commissioner for Justice and Public Instruction.
- CATROUX, GEORGES. French General and Ambassador to Moscow. Born in 1879. Educated at Saint Cyr. Joined Foreign Legion in 1899. Served under Lyautey and fought in Morocco. Governor of Damascus, and in 1939 appointed Governor-General of Indo-China. In 1940 joined de Gaulle after dismissal by Pétain, and became C.-in-C. of the Free French in the Levant. Made Governor-General of Algeria and Commissioner for Co-ordination of Moslem Affairs in the Committee of National Liberation.
- CAUWELAERT, FRANS VAN. President of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. Born in 1880. Educated at Louvain and Leipzig. Professor of Fribourg University, 1907-10. Called to Antwerp Bar in 1913. Burgomaster of Antwerp, 1921-32. Minister of State, 1931. Held in 1934-5 the posts of Minister of National Economy, Agriculture and Public Works. A Member of Parliament since 1910; became its President in 1939.
- CHAMOUN, CAMILLE. Lebanese Minister in London since August, 1944. Born in 1901. Elected Deputy, 1932. Minister of Finance, 1938. Minister of the Interior, 1943. Arrested by the French in November, 1943.
- CHARLOTTE, GRAND DUCHESS OF LUXEMBOURG. Born in 1896. Succeeded to the throne in 1919. Married Prince Felix of Bourbon-Parme, Prince of Luxembourg. On May 10, when Germany invaded the Grand Duchy, left for France and established her Government in London after the fall of France. Returned to her country in April, 1945.
- CHEN SHAO-KWAN, ADMIRAL. C.-in-C. Chinese Navy and Member of the National Military Council of the National Government since 1938. Born in 1889. Naval Academy, 1908. Vice-Admiral, 1925. Commander of the Second Squadron, 1926-31. Political Vice-Minister of the Navy, 1929-31. Minister of Navy, 1932-8.
- CHIANG KAI-SHEK. Chinese Generalissimo and National Leader. Chairman of Supreme National Defence Council. Born in 1887 at Fenghua, Chekiang. Studied at the Chinese National Military Academy. Joined Sun Yat-sen in 1911, and took an active part in the Chinese Revolutions of 1911, 1912 and 1917. Having been on the staff of Sun Yat-sen from 1917 to 1922, he studied at the Moscow Military Academy and became Chief of the Chinese Whampoa Military Academy near Canton. He trained an army which became chief support of the Kuomintang where he succeeded Sun Yat-sen at his death. Made his headquarters at Nanking. Became Prime Minister in 1928 and, with only one short interruption, Generalissimo of the Chinese Army.

Married Mme. Mayling Soong, sister of the Foreign Minister and of Mmes. Sun Yat-sen and Kung. At the time of the Japanese attack against China in July, 1937, he resigned office as Premier and devoted himself entirely to his military duties. In 1943 became President of the Republic and of the Executive Yuan.

- CHURCHILL, WINSTON SPENCER. Former British Prime Minister. Born in 1874. Educated at Harrow and Sandhurst. Entered Army in 1895 and served with the Spaniards in Cuba and later in the South African War. Newspaper correspondent. M.P. since 1906. Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, 1906-8, President of the Board of Trade, 1908-10. Home Secretary, 1910-11. First Lord of the Admiralty, 1911-15. Minister of Munitions, 1917-19. Secretary of State for War and Air, 1918-21. Secretary for Colonies, 1921-2. Chancellor of Exchequer, 1924-9. First Lord of Admiralty, 1939-40. Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence in 1940-5. Author of many political and historical works.
- CLAYTON, WILLIAM L. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs since 1944. Born in 1880. At fourteen he became a court reporter. Raw materials adviser to the Latin-American Division of Defence, 1940. Urged in 1940 America's full participation in the war. Assistant Secretary of Commerce to Mr. Jesse Jones. U.S. delegate to the Food Conference at Hot Springs.
- CLARK, TOM C. United States Attorney-General since May, 1945. Born in 1900. Practised Law in Texas. In department of Justice, 1937. Special assistant to the Attorney-General, 1938. Chief of the Wages and Hours Unit of the Anti-Trust Division, 1939, and in 1940 became Regional Director. In charge of the War Frauds Unit of the Department of Justice, 1942, and later assistant to the Assistant Attorney-General of the Anti-Trust Division. Assistant Attorney-General, 1943.
- COLBAN, ERIK ANDREAS. Norwegian Ambassador to London since 1934. Studied law and entered diplomatic service. Director of Minorities and Director of Disarmament for the League of Nations. Minister to France in 1930, to Belgium and Luxembourg, 1931-4.
- COLLINS, WILL RICHARD. South African Minister of Agriculture in 1938. Born in 1876. Fought in South African War and in 1914-15. Solicitor and notary public, 1902-38.
- CONFESSOR, TOMAS. Philippine Secretary of the Interior since March, 1945. Started life as a farm hand. Studied law and economics at California University. Ph.D., Chicago University. Taught Economics at the University of the Philippines. Elected to the House of Representatives, 1922. Director of the Bureau of Commerce, 1930-4. Governor of Iloilo, 1935-8. After the invasion of Panay, he became Governor of the Island and led all guerrilla activities.
- COOPER, ALFRED DUFF. British Ambassador to Paris since 1944. Born 1890. Educated at Eton and Oxford. M.P. (Conservative) since 1924. Secretary of State for War, 1935-7. First Lord of Admiralty, 1937-8. Minister of Information, 1940-1. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1941. Resident Cabinet Minister for Far-Eastern Affairs, 1941-2.

- CORNELIUSSEN, ELIAS. Norwegian Rear-Admiral and acting C.-in-C. of the Navy. Born in 1881. Educated, Naval College. Sub-Lieutenant in 1908, he was King Haakon's Naval A.D.C., 1928-31. Chief of Staff, 1937.
- CRANBORNE, ROBERT ARTHUR JAMES CECIL, VISCOUNT. Former Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and Leader of the House of Lords. Born in 1893. Educated at Eton and Oxford. Was a Conservative M.P. from 1929-41. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1935-8. Paymaster-General, 1940. Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 1940-2, and for Colonies, 1942-3.
- CRIPPS, SIR STAFFORD. President of the Board of Trade since 1945. Born in 1899. Educated at Winchester and London University. M.P. since 1931. Solicitor-General in 1930-1. Ambassador to Russia, 1940-2. Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons, 1942. Minister of Aircraft Production from 1942-45.
- CUNNINGHAM, SIR ANDREW BROWNE. British Admiral of the Fleet. Born in 1883. Educated Edinburgh Academy. Entered Navy in 1898. Naval A.D.C. to the King in 1932. C.-in-C., Mediterranean, 1939-42. C.-in-C., British and U.S. Navy, North Africa and Mediterranean, 1942-3. First Sea Lord and Chief of Naval Staff 1943.
- DALTON, HUGH. Chancellor of Exchequer since 1945, President of the Board of Trade from 1942-5. Born in 1887. Educated at Eton and Cambridge. Called to the Bar in 1914. Fought in the war of 1914-18. Lecturer at London University, 1920-5. Labour M.P. since 1924. Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1929-31. Minister of Economic Warfare, 1940-2. Author of books on political and economic questions.
- DAMASKINOS, ARCHBISHOP. Regent of Greece and Primate of Greek Orthodox Church. Born in 1889. Studied Divinity and Law at Athens University. Became Bishop of Corinth, 1921. After Corinthian earthquake in 1928, travelled to the U.S.A. to organize fund for rebuilding of Corinth. Returned to Greece to try to reconcile the Venizelists and their opponents. Kept out of politics during Metaxas dictatorship. Became Archbishop during the German occupation.
- DAVID, JOZKA. Czechoslovak Vice-Premier since 1945. Born in 1884. Journalist. After the last war was Secretary-General of the Legionaries Union, Member of the Social National (Beneš Party) and Deputy of Parliament. Organizer of the underground movement, and escaped to Britain.
- DEJEAN, MAURICE. Born in 1899. Political Director of the Quai d'Orsay. Entered French Diplomatic Service and was a Secretary of the French Embassy at Berlin from 1929 to 1939, when, at the beginning of the war, he became *Chef de Cabinet* to Daladier and Paul Reynaud. Opposed the French Armistice. He left Bordeaux at the armistice, went to Africa, and arrived in London in February, 1941, when he was appointed Director of Political Affairs and, shortly afterwards, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs by General de Gaulle. In 1943 was appointed by the French Committee of Liberation Minister to the Allied Governments in London.

DEKANOSOV, VLADIMIR GEORGIEVITCH. Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs since 1939. Soviet Ambassador to Berlin in 1940-1.

DELFOSSE, ANTOINE. Former Belgian Minister of Justice and Information. Was studying law when Belgium was invaded in 1914 and crossed the Dutch frontier in order to join the Belgian Army as a volunteer. He served during the War in the artillery and left as an officer. After having finished his studies at the university of Liège, established himself as a lawyer in that town. Elected as deputy of Liège in 1939, he entered the first Government Pierlot and remained Minister until the Armistice. Separated from his colleagues, he was arrested by the Germans at Abbeville. Sent back to Brussels, he organized patriotic resistance and pleaded as a lawyer against illegal German measures. Arrived in London in August, 1942, and was appointed Minister of Justice and of Information.

DIETHELM, ANDRE. Minister of War in the French Provisional Government. Former Commissioner for Production and Trade in the French Committee of Liberation. Born in 1896. Educated at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. Fought in 1914-18. Financial Director of Indo-China. Chief of Cabinet to M. Mandel at the Ministries of Colonies and Finance. Joined General de Gaulle in 1941 and was his Commissioner for Interior, Labour and Information.

DREES, W. Netherlands Minister for Social Affairs. Born in 1886, at Amsterdam. Entered service of the Twentsche Bank. Stenographer to the States General, 1907. Chairman of the Hague Federation of the Social Democrats Workers' Party, 1911-31. Member of the Hague Municipal Party, 1931. Member of the provincial states of Zuid Holland, 1919, and in 1933 member of the Second Chamber. During occupation he belonged to the Convent of Political Parties, and was made member of the Government's Advisory Council.

DUNN, JAMES C. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State. Born in 1890. Architect, 1912-17. Secretary to Embassies in Madrid, Brussels and London, 1920-34. Special Assistant to Secretary of State, 1934. Chief of Division of Western European Affairs, 1935-9.

DUPONG, PIERRE. Luxembourg Prime Minister since 1937. Born in 1885, studied law at Paris, Berlin, Fribourg. Doctor of Law and Deputy since 1915. Minister of Finance from 1926 to 1937 and Delegate to the International Labour Office since 1926. Returned to Luxembourg in 1944.

EDE, THE RT. HON. JAMES CHUTER. Home Secretary since August, 1945. Born in 1882. Educated at Epsom National Schools, Dorking High School and Christ's College, Cambridge. M.P. for South Shields, 1929-31, and since 1935. Mayor of Epsom and Ewell, 1937.

EDEN, ANTHONY. Former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Born in 1897. Educated at Eton and Oxford. Conservative M.P. since 1923. Parliamentary Private Secretary to Sir Austen Chamberlain, 1926-9. Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1931-3. Lord Privy Seal, 1934-5. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1935-8. Secretary of State for the Dominions, 1939-40. Secretary of State for War, 1940.

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT DAVID. American General. Born 1890. Educated at U.S. Military Academy. Second Lieutenant in 1915 and Brigadier-General in 1941. General, 1942. Commander U.S. Forces in the European Theatre of Operations.

EVATT, HERBERT VERE. Australian Minister of External Affairs since 1941. Born in 1894. Educated St. Andrew's College and Sydney University. Justice, Federal High Court of Australia, 1930-40. Member of the British War Cabinet since 1942.

FABREGA, DR. OCTAVIO. Former Panamanian Foreign Minister. An honours graduate of Harvard University, he is a descendant of General de Fabrega, a companion of Simon Bolivar. Foreign Minister since 1941.

FEIERABEND, DR. LADISLAV. Czechoslovak Minister of Finance. Born in 1891. Educated at Oxford, Neuchâtel, and Prague Universities. Worked in the Czechoslovak liberation movement of the First World War and became one of the leaders of the agricultural co-operation movement in his country. Was appointed Director for the State Monopoly of Grain. Appointed a member of the after-Munich Government. Held this post until the time of his escape to England in January, 1941, when he became Minister of Finance in the London Government.

FELIX, PRINCE OF LUXEMBOURG, Prince de Bourbon-Parme. Born, 1893, a son of the Duke Robert of Parma. Educated at Stonyhurst. In 1919 married the Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg. Left, together with his family, when the Grand Duchy was invaded in 1940 and went to France. Together with the Grand Duchess, came to Britain and re-entered Luxembourg on September 10, 1944, as head of the military mission.

FIERLINGER, ZDENEK. Czechoslovak Prime Minister since 1945. Former Czech Ambassador in Moscow. Born in 1891. Fought in First World War against Austria. Became Director of Economic Section of the Czech Foreign Ministry and represented his country in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, and Rumania, before being appointed to the U.S.S.R. in 1937. Member of the Socialist Party.

FOG, PROFESSOR MOGENS. Danish Minister for Special Affairs since 1945. Professor of Neurology of the University of Copenhagen and head of the Neurology Department of the Copenhagen 'Rigshospital.' Editor of the *Weekly Review of Medicine* since 1939. One of the Central figures of the Resistance Movement. Imprisoned by the Gestapo, but escaped and took over the direction of the Freedom Council. Joined the First Free Danish Government.

FORDE, FRANCIS MICHAEL. Australian Minister for the Army. Born in 1880. Educated at Toowoomba School. Member of Queensland Legislature, 1917-22, when he became M.P. Member of Royal Commission on Motion Picture Industry, 1927-8. Acting Minister for Markets and Transport, and Minister for Trades and Customs, 1930-1. Deputy leader of the Federal Labour Party and of the Opposition, 1932.

- FRASER, PETER. Prime Minister of New Zealand since 1940. Born in 1884. Started as a labourer and entered Trade Union. M.P. in 1918-9 and 1922. Minister of Education, Health and Marine in 1935-40. Leader of the Labour Party.
- FRIHAGEN, ANDERS. Former Norwegian Minister of Supply and Reconstruction, 1942-5. Educated at Oslo University. Born in 1892. A former bank director and Minister of Trade.
- FURSTNER, LIEUTENANT-ADMIRAL JOHANNES THEODORUS. Former Netherlands Minister for Naval Affairs. Born in 1887. Studied at the Naval College of Willemsoord and at the Hague Naval War College and had the usual training of a Dutch naval officer, including seven years' station in the Dutch East Indies. After a stage at the École de Guerre Navale in Paris, was made in 1929 Director of the Netherlands Naval War College, which he left in 1935 to command a battleship. Chief of Staff of the Navy in 1936. Was instrumental in bringing over to Britain the Netherlands home fleet in 1940, when Dutch gunboats stationed in the mouth of the Thames rendered important services. Was temporarily Acting Minister of War in 1942.
- GAULLE, GENERAL CHARLES DE. President of French Provisional Government. President of the National Committee of Liberation in Algiers. Born in 1890. Studied at the Military Academy of Saint Cyr and in 1914, as a company commander, was wounded, taken prisoner and mentioned in dispatches. During the Polish-Russian War was a member of General Weygand's staff. As a professor of military history at his old college of Saint Cyr, studied old and modern warfare and was one of the first to advocate the importance of the motorized army. In 1940 promoted to the rank of general. At the time of the armistice, the General, who had been appointed in June, 1940, to the post of Under-Secretary of State for National Defence, decided to continue the fight. Condemned to death in August, 1940. Joined General Giraud at Algiers and became President of the French Committee of Liberation.
- GEORGE VI. King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Sea. Emperor of India. Born in 1895. Succeeded Edward VIII on his abdication in December, 1936. Married, 1923, Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon (born in 1900). Daughter and Heir-presumptive, Princess Elizabeth Alexandra Mary (born in 1926).
- GEORGE II. King of the Hellenes. Born in 1890. Succeeded his father, King Constantine, in 1922. Left Greece in 1924 when a Republic was established. His marriage (1921) with Princess Elizabeth of Rumania was dissolved in 1935. Recalled to the throne in 1935. After appointment of Prime Minister Tsouderos left Greece with the Government and went to London. Heir-presumptive, his brother, Crown Prince Paul (born in 1901). Married in 1938 Princess Frederika of Hanover. Their son, Prince Constantine, was born in 1940.
- GERBRANDY, PIETER SJOERD. Former Netherlands Prime Minister. Born in 1885 in Friesland. Went to an elementary and grammar school in Friesland before studying law at the Calvinist Free University of Amsterdam where in 1911 he took his degree. Called to the Bar, he



practised law at Leyden until 1914, when he returned to his native province and carried on his profession in the little town of Sneek. In 1930 he was made a Professor at Law at the Amsterdam Free University, which he left in 1939 for the Ministry of Justice. Author of many books on law. In September, 1940, became Netherlands Prime Minister. Resigned on his return to Holland in 1945.

GERHARDSSEN, EINAR. Norwegian Prime Minister since June, 1945. Born in Oslo, 1897. Road worker, 1914-22. Chairman of Road Repairers' Union, 1919. Secretary of Norwegian Municipal Association, 1922-3. Secretary of Oslo Labour Party, 1925-36. Since 1936 Secretary of Norwegian Labour Party. Mayor of Oslo when Norway was invaded on April 9, 1940, he left the capital, but returned in July to resume his post of Mayor, but after one day the Germans dismissed him. Returned to road-repairing and was a secret member of the Central Committee and Home Front Leadership. Arrested, 1941. Deported to Germany, 1942. Returned to Norway and held as hostage by Gestapo, 1944. Liberated, May, 1945, and resumed post as Mayor. Elected Chairman of Labour Party.

GLOUCESTER, DUKE OF. Prince Henry William Frederick Albert. Governor General of Australia since 1945. Son of King George V. Born in 1900. Colonel of the Scots Guards. Personal A.D.C. to the King. Chief Liaison Officer, British Field Forces, 1939-40. Air Marshal.

GOMOLKA, WLADYSLAW. Deputy Prime Minister of Poland. Born in 1905. Secretary of Trades Council. Took part in defence of Warsaw, 1939. Fought his way into U.S.S.R. and returned in 1942 to organize first armed resistance against invader. One of the initiators of the National Council.

GOTTWALD, KLEMENT. Czechoslovak Vice-Premier since 1945. Born in 1896, in Moravia. Trained as a carpenter. One of the founders of the Czech Communist Party. Edited Communist organ. Elected Party Chairman, 1926. After Munich went to Russia as leader of the Soviet branch of the Czech Liberation Movement.

GOUSEV, FEODOR TAVASOVITCH. Soviet Ambassador to Britain since 1943. Born in 1904. Was a legal Government adviser before entering diplomatic service in 1937. Minister to Canada in 1942.

GRABSKI, STANISLAW. President of the Polish National Council. Born in 1871. Educated at Warsaw and Berne, Paris, Berlin Universities. In 1910 became Professor of Economics at Lwow University. In 1919 Member of the Polish National Committee of Paris. Delegate to the Riga Peace Conference in 1921. Minister of Education in 1923 till the Pilsudski *coup d'état*.

GROL, MILAN. Yugoslav Vice-Premier since 1945. Former Foreign Minister. Born in 1876. Educated at Belgrade and Paris Universities. Director of Yugoslav National Theatre in 1909. Chief of the Serbian Press Bureau in Geneva, 1914-19. Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1924. Minister of Education, 1928. Minister of Social Welfare, 1941-3.

GUANI, DR. ALBERTO. Vice-President of Uruguay. Born June 14, 1877, in Montevideo. Lawyer. Professor of Montevideo University. Deputy. In 1911 he was Minister in Austria, Hungary and Switzerland. Foreign Secretary, 1938-42.

GUTT, CAMILLE. Former Belgian Minister of Finance. Born, January 14, 1884. Studied law and economics, graduated in 1903 and practised as a lawyer, volunteering in 1914 for the Belgian Army, of which he is still a Reserve officer. In 1916 went to London for the Belgian War Material Purchase Commission and was Secretary-General to the Belgian Delegation on the Reparation Commission. Finance Minister in the Theunis Government in 1934-5 and in all the Pierlot Governments since 1939. He belonged to no political party and was never a Member of Parliament. In the autumn of 1940 prepared the establishment of the Belgian Government in London.

HAAKON VII. King of Norway since 1905. Born Prince Charles of Denmark in 1872. Elected King after a plebiscite when the union between Sweden and Norway was dissolved. Married, 1896, Princess Maud, daughter of Edward VII. Left Norway in June, 1940, for England and returned there in 1945.

HAIDARI, DAUD PASHA AL. Iraq Minister in London since 1943. Born in 1886. Studied law at Constantinople. Lawyer in Baghdad. Minister of Justice, 1928-9 and 1942.

HAILE SELASSIE I. Emperor of Ethiopia since 1930. Born in 1892. Made heir to the throne by his aunt, the Empress Waizeru Zauditu in 1916, he was known as Ras Taffari. In 1928, made Negus, he succeeded the Empress on her death, proclaimed a constitution in 1931, left his country, invaded by Italy in 1936, and, after four years of exile in Britain, he re-entered his country in 1941 and was reinstated in Addis Ababa. Married in 1911 Princess Manen. Their son, Crown Prince Asfa Wassen, was born in 1916.

HALIFAX, EDWARD FREDERICK LINDLEY WOOD, VISCOUNT. British Ambassador to the U.S. since 1941. Born in 1881. Educated at Eton and Oxford. Conservative M.P. 1910-25. Under-Secretary of State for Colonies 1921-2. President of Board of Education, 1922-4. Minister of Agriculture, 1924-5. Viceroy of India, 1926-31. President Board of Education, 1932-5. Secretary for War, 1935. Lord Privy Seal, 1935-7. Lord President of the Council, 1937-8. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1938-40.

HALL, THE RT. HON. GEORGE HENRY. Colonial Secretary since August, 1945. Born in 1881. Educated at Penrhiwceiber Elementary School. Collier, 1893-1911. M.P., 1922. Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 1929-31. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office, 1940-2. Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, 1942-3. Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1943-5.

HARRIMAN, WILLIAM AVERELL. U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Russia since 1943. Born 1891. Educated at Yale University. Industrialist and chairman of several important companies. Was made President Roosevelt's special representative to Great Britain (with the title of Minister Plenipotentiary).

- HARTMANN, PAUL ERNST WILHELM. Former Norwegian Minister of Finance (1941-5). Born in 1878. Was Burgomaster of Oslo from 1928-41. After his resignation, was called to London as a representative of Norwegian resistance at home.
- HERNANDEZ, JAIME. Philippine Minister of Finance since March, 1945. Born, July, 1892. Clerk in Bureau of Audits, 1911. LL.B. at Philippine Law School, 1926. Auditor-General of the Commonwealth, 1935.
- HOFMEYR, JAN F. South African Minister of Finance and Education since 1933. Born in 1894. Educated at Oxford. Professor of Classics at Johannesburg University since 1917. Vice-President of the Classical Association of Great Britain.
- HURBAN, VLADIMIR. Czechoslovak Ambassador to the U.S. since 1936. Born in 1883. Educated at Vienna Polytechnicum. Volunteered for the Russian Army in 1914 and took part in the organization of Czechoslovak Legions in Siberia. Entered Diplomatic Service and represented his country in Sweden, Norway and Lithuania.
- HUYSMANS, CAMILLE. Belgian Minister of State. Born in 1871. Became in 1905 Secretary of the Second International, of which he has been President since 1940. Deputy since 1910. Minister of Science and Arts, 1925-7. Burgomaster of Antwerp in 1933. President of Chamber of Deputies since 1936.
- IBAMA, VELASCO JOSÉ. President of Ecuador and President of Chamber of Deputies. Born in Quito, 1893. Lawyer of Quito. Deputy for Pichincha, 1932. President, 1934-5. Unsuccessful candidate for Presidency in 1940. President for second term, 1944.
- ICKES, HAROLD L. U.S. Secretary of the Interior since 1933. Born in 1874. Chicago journalist and reporter, 1897-1900. Lawyer since 1907. Went to France for the Y.M.C.A., 1918-19. President, People's Protective League. N.R.A. Administrator of Public Works.
- İNÖNÜ, İSMET. Turkish President. Born in 1884. Educated at Military College. Lieut.-Colonel, 1914. Under-Secretary for War, 1918. Joined Kemal in 1920. Victor of the Battle of İnönü, 1921. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1922. Signed Treaty of Lausanne, 1923. Prime Minister, 1923-5. President since 1939.
- ISAACS, GEORGE ALFRED. Minister of Labour and National Service since August, 1945. Born in 1883. Mayor of Southwark, 1919-21. Labour M.P. for Gravesend 1923-4, and for North Southwark, 1929-31, and since 1939, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs and to the Leader of the Opposition. Parliamentary Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty, 1942.
- JACOBSEN, FRØDE. Danish Minister without Portfolio. By profession a teacher. Fought actively against the Germans in Denmark, and was one of the leading members of the Freedom Council, and organized sabotage against the German Wehrmacht. Started life as a farm-hand, matriculated and studied at Copenhagen University.
- JARAMILLO-ARANGO, JAIME. Colombian Ambassador to Britain since 1938. Born in 1897. Educated in Bogota, Paris and U.S.A. Doctor of Medicine and Dean of Medical Faculty at Bogota. Minister of Education in 1934.

- JIMENEZ, ENRIQUE A. President of Panama since 1945. Born in 1888. Member of Parliament. Secretary to the Legation in Washington. Secretary of Finance, 1932. Secretary to the President.
- JONES, JESSE HOLMES. Former U.S. Secretary of Commerce (1940-5). Born in 1874. A banker in Texas, he became in 1917 Director-General of the Military Relief of the Red Cross.
- JORDAN, WILLIAM JOSEPH. New Zealand's High Commissioner in London. Born in 1879 in England. Emigrated to New Zealand in 1904, and became first Secretary of Labour Party. President, 1933. Member of House of Representatives in 1922. Delegate to the League of Nations. President of Council, 1938.
- JOWITT, THE RT. HON. LORD WILLIAM ALLEN. Lord Chancellor since August, 1945. Born in 1885. Educated at Marlborough College and New College, Oxford. Called to the Bar, 1909. Liberal M.P. for the Hartlepoons, 1922-4. Labour M.P. for Preston, 1920-31. Privy Councillor, 1931. Attorney-General, 1929-32. Solicitor-General, 1940-2. Paymaster-General, 1942. Minister without Portfolio, 1943-4.
- KAGANOVICH, LAZAR MOYSEVITCH. Soviet Commissar of Railways since 1943. Born in 1893. Joined Communist Party in 1911. Secretary-General of the Party for the Ukraine, where he was engaged in the work of industrialization. In 1935 he was for the first time People's Commissar for the Railways, holding subsequently the posts of Commissar for Oil and for the Heavy Industry, before returning to the Railways. Member of Politburo and Supreme Soviet.
- KALININ, MICHAEL IVANOVITCH. Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Born in 1875 in the province of Tver. Factory worker in Petersburg, where he joined the 'Union for Struggle for the Freedom of the Working Class' in 1895. Did revolutionary work at the Putilov factory, and was arrested for the first time in 1899. Imprisoned and exiled repeatedly. Became in 1919 President of the Executive Committee, and in 1923 of the U.S.S.R.
- KANELLOPOULOS, PANAYOTIS. Former Greek Minister of Finance and Reconstruction (1944). Former Vice-Premier and Minister of Defence. Born in 1902. Educated at Athens and Heidelberg Universities. Professor of Sociology at Athens. Served as private at the Albanian Front in 1940. Escaped from Greece in 1942 and entered Greek Government.
- KARDELJ, EDVARD. Yugoslav Vice-Premier and Minister for the Constituent Assembly. Diploma of Teachers' Training College. Arrested many times for anti-Fascist activities. One of the first founders of the National Liberation Front in Slovenia. Vice-President of A.V.N.O.J. in November, 1943.
- KHOURI, BISHARA EL. President of Lebanon since 1943. Born in 1890. Lawyer in Beirut. Minister of the Interior, 1926. Chief of the Constitutional Party and many times Prime Minister. General Procurer of the Republic. Arrested by the French when Constitution was suspended, 1943.

KING, RT. HON. W. L. MACKENZIE. Canadian Prime Minister, President of the Privy Council and Secretary-of-State for External Affairs. Born in 1874. Educated at Toronto, Chicago, and Harvard Universities. Deputy Minister of Labour and Editor of the *Labour Gazette*, 1900-8. Minister of Labour, 1909-11. Leader of the Liberal Party, 1919. Leader of the Opposition, 1919-21 and 1930. Previously held present posts from 1921 to 1926 and 1926 to 1930.

KOO, VI-KYUIN WELLINGTON. Chinese Ambassador to Britain. Born in Shanghai, 1888. B.A., Yale; M.A. and Ph.D., Columbia. Started his diplomatic career as Minister to Mexico, and in 1916 was appointed as Minister to the United States. Chinese Plenipotentiary to the Paris Peace Conference and chief Chinese Delegate to the League of Nations. Has been several times Prime and Foreign Minister between 1922 and 1931. Minister to France in 1932, he was appointed Ambassador to Britain in 1941.

KORNEICHUK, ALEXANDER E. Soviet Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs since 1943. Expert on Ukrainian affairs. Delegate to the All Slav Meeting at Moscow, 1942. Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Author and playwright.

KOT, STANISLAW. Former Polish Minister of Information since 1943. Born in 1885. Educated at Lwow. During 1914-18 War Chief of Propaganda of the Polish Legions. Professor of History at Cracow. Member of People's Party. Deputy Prime Minister, 1939-41. Ambassador to Moscow, 1941-2. Author of books on education and history.

KOUWATLY, SHOUKRI BEY. President of Syria since August, 1943. Born in 1895. Educated at Istanbul. Worked for the Government during Turkish régime. Resigned and took an active part in the Arab National Movement. Helped Arab Government in Damascus, 1918-20. Imprisoned by Turkish Governor, 1914-16. One of the Leaders of the Syrian Revolution against the French, 1925. After treaty with French became a member of the National Government, 1935.

KRIER, PIERRE. Luxembourg Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Mines since 1937. Member of Parliament since 1917. President of the Miners' and Metal-workers' Union. Represented Luxembourg Trade Unions. Leader of Labour Party.

KRONACKER, PAUL GEORGES. Belgian Minister of Supply. Born in 1897. Volunteer at the front, 1915. At University of Brussels where he obtained doctorate of science, 1919. Senator for Louvain since 1939. Rejoined the Army, May, 1940. Captured, escaped. Military Attaché in London, 1943 and 1944. Member of the Council of Ministers since 1944.

KUNG, ELING SOONG, elder sister of Mesdames Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. Born at Shanghai. B.A., Georgia Wesleyan College. Wife of the Minister of Finance.

KUNG, H. H. Vice-President of the Chinese Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance. Born in Shansi in 1881, a direct descendant of Confucius of the seventy-fifth generation. B.A., Oberlin, 1906; M.A., Yale, 1907. Took part in Sun Yat-sen's revolution in 1911 and became in 1927

Minister of Industry, Labour and Commerce. In 1932-3 he was Special Industrial Commissioner of the National Government to Europe. After a short stay as Governor of the Central Bank of China, was made Minister of Finance and Vice-President of the Executive Yuan in 1933. He came to London in 1937 as Special Envoy for the Coronation of King George VI.

LA GUARDIA, FIORELLO H. U.S. politician. Mayor of New York since 1934. Born in 1882. Educated New York University. Consular Agent, Fiume, 1904-6. Deputy Attorney-General of New York, 1915-7. Member of Congress, 1917-33.

LAWSON, JOHN JAMES. Secretary of War since August, 1945. Born in 1881. Labour M.P. for Durham, 1919. Financial Secretary to the War Office, 1924. Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, 1929-31. Member of the Imperial War Graves Commission since 1930. Vice-Chairman of the British Council, 1944.

LEHMANN, HERBERT H. U.S. Director of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, 1942-3. Born in 1878. Banker. Former Governor of New York State. Special Assistant to President Roosevelt. Director of U.N.R.R.A. in 1943.

LESCOT, ELIE. President of Haiti since 1941. Born in 1883. Member of Legislative Assembly, 1900-3. Judge and Magistrate, Secretary of Education and Agriculture, Justice and Interior. Minister to Dominica. Minister to U.S.A., 1937-41.

LIE, TRYGVE. Norwegian Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1941. Born in 1896. Studied law at Oslo University and was called to the Bar. Legal adviser of trade unions, he became Minister of Justice in 1935. In 1939 Minister of Commerce and later of Supply and Shipping.

LIEFTINCK, PROFESSOR P. Netherlands Minister of Finance since June, 1945. Born in 1902. Professor of Rotterdam School of Economics and Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation. Advisory Member of the Supreme Council of Labour. Hostage for four and a half years during the occupation in concentration camps.

LITVINOV, MAXIM MAXIMOVITCH. Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs since 1943. Born 1876. Socialist since 1898, engaged in underground work. Escaped to Switzerland. Joined Bolsheviks. Soviet diplomatic agent in Britain in 1917-18. Foreign Commissar, 1929-39. Delegate to the League of Nations. Ambassador to U.S., 1941-3.

LOBKOVICZ, MAXIMILIAN. Czechoslovak Ambassador to Britain since 1941. Born in 1888. Educated at Prague University. In 1920 entered diplomatic service and was Secretary and Counsellor at the Czechoslovak Legation in London. In 1933-5 Czechoslovak representative with the High Commissioner of Refugees.

LOGEMAN, PROFESSOR JOHAN H. A. Netherlands Minister for Overseas Territories since 1945. Born in Rotterdam, 1892. Studied at Leyden University. From 1912 held posts in the Netherlands East Indies Civil Service. Doctor of law, 1923. Appointed temporary Inspector of the Service for Economy, 1924. Since 1924 Professor at the School of Law at Batavia. Government Commissioner of the Javasche Bank. Taken as a hostage by the Germans, 1940. Until 1945 in concentration camps.

LOPEZ, ALFONSO. President of Colombia. Born, January 31, 1886, at Honda. Educated at Bogota, Brighton College and Packard College (U.S.A.). Doctor of law. Liberal Deputy since 1915. President of American Mercantile Bank of Colombia, 1918. Minister to Britain, 1931. Leader of the Liberal Party. Founder of the Newspaper *El Liberal*. President since 1934.

LOUDON, ALEXANDER. Netherlands Ambassador to the U.S. since 1939. Born 1892. Educated at Leyden University. Entered Diplomatic service in 1916. Secretary of Legation, Washington 1924-5. Minister to Portugal, 1934-7; to Switzerland, 1937-8.

LOZOVSKY, SOLOMON ABRAMOVITCH. U.S.S.R. Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Born in 1878, son of a schoolmaster, and started life as a blacksmith. Joined socialists in 1901 and took part in the Revolution of 1905. Arrested, escaped to France, where he worked as journalist. Became secretary to different Trade Unions and, after his return to Russia in 1917, became Secretary to the Trade Union Council. Author of many books on Trade Unions. In 1939 was appointed to the Foreign Affairs and in 1941 made a Deputy Director of the Soviet Information Bureau.

LYTTELTON, OLIVER. Former Minister of Production. Born in 1893. Educated at Eton and Cambridge. Fought in the War of 1914-18. M.P. (Conservative) since 1940. President, Board of Trade, 1940-1. Minister of State in the Middle East, 1941-2.

MACARTHUR, DOUGLAS, U.S. General. C-in-C., Allied Forces, Southwest Pacific. Born in 1880. Educated at West Point. Brigadier-general in 1918. U.S. Chief of Staff, 1930-5. Field-Marshal of Philippine Forces, 1936. C-in-C., Philippines, 1941-2.

MACDONALD, MALCOLM. High Commissioner in Canada since 1941. Born in 1901, the son of Ramsay MacDonald. Educated at Oxford. M.P. since 1929. Under-Secretary of State for Dominions, 1931-5. Secretary for Dominions and Colonies, 1935-40. Minister of Health, 1940-1.

MAGALHAES, DR. AGAMEMNON. Brazilian Minister of Justice. Born in 1878. Studied at Rio de Janeiro. Lawyer and politician. Deputy, 1919-23. Minister of Labour, 1934.

MAISKY, IVAN MIKHAILOVITCH. Vice-Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Born, at Kriloff, Novgorod, January, 1884. Went to school at Omsk and studied economics at Munich from 1907 to 1910. Lived in London and Switzerland, returning to Russia in 1917, where he became Press Director at Moscow. Went in 1919 to Mongolia to study economic conditions in that country. Counsellor at Soviet Embassies at London and Tokio from 1925 to 1929. Was in 1929 appointed Minister to Helsinki and Ambassador to Britain in 1932, where he negotiated the Anglo-Soviet and Soviet-Polish and Soviet-Czechoslovak treaties. Was appointed to his present office in summer, 1943.

MAKIN, NORMAN JOHN OSWALD. Australian Minister of Munitions and Navy since 1941. Born in 1889. Labour Representative since 1919. President of the Party since 1936. Speaker, 1929-31.

- MALINOVSKY, MARSHAL RODIN YAKOVLEVICH.** Marshal of the Soviet Union since September, 1944. Born in Odessa, 1898. Farm labourer, 1910. Fought in last Great War, promoted corporal. Elected Chairman of a regimental committee in France during the October Revolution. Attached to the Foreign Legion, 1918. Left France and returned to Russia, 1919. Joined the Red Army as a machine-gun instructor and rose to battalion commander, 1919. Appointed Chief of Staff, then commander of a cavalry regiment, 1936. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union he was a corps commander and held up the German forces at Dniepropetrovsk and was awarded the Order of Lenin. In the Battle of Stalingrad he frustrated the link-up between the German armies. Later commanded the armies of the South-Western Front and the Third Ukrainian Front and secured a series of victories.
- MANSHOLT, S. L.** Netherlands Minister for Food Supply, Agriculture and Fisheries. Born in 1909. Studied agriculture and worked on Dutch East Indies plantations. During the occupation he did illegal work on behalf of concentration camp victims and commanded a section of the Forces of the Interior. Made Burgomaster of Wieringermeer.
- MARTEAUX, ALBERT.** Belgian Minister of Public Health. Born in 1886. Auxiliary Health Service, 1907. Adjutant Doctor of Health Service, 1914. Medical captain of the reserve, 1919. Member of the Royal Commission on Public Health, 1937. Has written books on medical subjects.
- MASARYK, JAN.** Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1940. Born in 1886, the son of T. G. Masaryk. Educated at Prague. Spent some of his younger years in the U.S. After 1918, joined the Diplomatic service of his country, and was appointed in the following year as Counsellor of Legation to Washington. In 1923-4 he was secretary to M. Beneš; from 1925-30 Minister to Britain, and resigned after Munich. Since 1941 Deputy Prime Minister.
- MASON, EDWARD S.** U.S. Assistant Secretary of State. Born in 1899. Educated at Kansas, Harvard and Oxford Universities. Professor of Economics at Harvard, 1923-37. Economic Adviser to Department of Labour, 1938-9. Chairman of National Bureau of Economic Research.
- MASSEY, VINCENT.** Canadian High Commissioner in London since 1935. Born in 1888. Educated, Toronto and Oxford. Lecturer in Modern History at the former University. First Canadian Minister to U.S., 1926-30.
- MASSIGLI, RENE.** French Ambassador in London. Former Commissioner for Foreign Affairs in the French National Committee of Liberation. Born in 1888. Educated at Ecole Normale. Entered the Diplomatic Service and in 1928 became Chief of League of Nations' Section of Quai d'Orsay and became Ambassador to Ankara since 1938. Recalled by the Vichy Government in 1940, took part in the clandestine liberation movement and was appointed Fighting French Commissar for Foreign Affairs when he joined General de Gaulle in 1943. Took part in the negotiations Giraud-de Gaulle and became Foreign Commissioner at Algiers.



**MAXA, PROKOP.** Former President of the Czechoslovak State Council. Born in 1883, educated at Prague. Lecturer at Prague College of Commerce and Secretary of Masaryk's Progress Party before the war of 1914-18 when he organized Czechoslovak Legions in Russia. Member of the National Assembly, 1919-20. Entered Diplomatic Service. Minister at The Hague, 1921. At Warsaw, 1921-3. Director of Foreign Office, 1924-30. Minister to Sofia, 1931-9.

**MCAUGHTON, THE HON. ANDREW G. L.** General. Canadian Minister for National Defence. Born in 1887. Educated at Lennoxville and McGill Universities, and the Royal Staff and the Imperial Defence Colleges. Became Chief of the Canadian General Staff, 1929.

**MEDINA-ANGARITA, ISAIAS.** Venezuelan President since April 29, 1941. Born in 1897. Educated at Caracas. Minister of War, 1936.

**MENZIES, ROBERT GORDON.** Australian politician. Born in 1894. Educated, Melbourne. Member of Provincial and Federal Parliaments since 1928. Minister of Railways and Attorney-General, 1932. Acting Prime Minister 1932-4. Attorney-General and Minister for Industry, 1934-9. Prime Minister, 1939-41. Opposition Member of Advisory War Council since 1941.

**MEYNEN, JOHANNES.** Netherlands Minister of War since 1945. Born in 1901. Studied Law at Amsterdam, and became a Reserve officer. Mobilized, 1939. Entered munitions department of the Ministry of Defence. Demobilized at the capitulation and in the occupation commanded resistance forces. Appointed by Prince Bernhard to his Staff. Appointed Deputy Secretary-General at the War Ministry and promoted colonel.

**MIKOLAJCZYK, STANISLAW.** Polish Vice-Premier. Born in 1900. Went to an agricultural school, fought in the Polish-Russian campaign, and farmed in Posnania. After having been a secretary of the agricultural associations and a journalist for one of their newspapers, entered politics and became Vice-President of the Peasants' Party and a Member of Parliament. Appointed Vice-Premier by General Sikorski. Succeeded him as Prime Minister, 1943-44. Joined the Warsaw Government in 1945.

**MIKOYAN, ANASTAS IVANOVITCH.** U.S.S.R. People's Commissar of Foreign Trade since 1942. Born in Tiflis in 1895. Joined Communist Party in 1915 and was an organizer of anti-Tsarist activities. Arrested in Baku, 1918, and exiled. Fought for the reconquest of the city. Secretary of North Caucasian Party Committee till 1926. People's Commissar for Supplies, 1931-4. Member of Politburo since 1934. People's Commissar for Food Industry, 1934-8. Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

**MØLLER, J. CHRISTMAS.** Danish Foreign Minister. Born in 1894. One of the leaders of the Conservative People's Party in the Folketing since 1928. Was Minister of Trade in 1940 until forced by the Germans to retire from the Government and his constituency. Escaped to Britain in 1942, and joined the Free Danish Movement. Became Chairman of the Danish Council. Lately declared himself to be politically independent.

- MOLOTOV, VYATCHESLAV MIKHAILOVITCH.** Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Deputy Chairman of Council of People's Commissars of U.S.S.R. Born in 1890, at Kukardi, Vyatka. Became a political writer, studying at the University of Kazan and Petersburg Polytechnic. Became member of anti-Tsarist movement, playing an active role in the Revolution of 1905. Joined the Bolshevik Party in 1907, when he changed his original name of Skriabin to Molotov, suffering frequent exile. He returned in 1911 to St. Petersburg, where he worked under Lenin and Stalin. Was a member of the War Tribunal of Petrograd after the October Revolution, and was called in 1924 to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party. In 1930 was appointed Prime Minister (Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars), and took a prominent part in the Five Year Plans. Since Litvinov's dismissal in 1939, in Charge of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In 1941 appointed Member of the State Defence Committee.
- MOOK, HUBERT JOHANNES VAN.** Netherlands Minister of Colonies since 1942. Born in 1894 in Netherlands East Indies. Educated at Soerabaya College, Amsterdam, Delft, Leyden and Stanford (California) Universities. Entered East Indies Civil Service in 1918. Assistant President of Batavia Police, 1928. Member of Peoples' Council (Independent), 1931-4. Chief of Bureau of General Economics, 1934-7, and Director of Department of Economic Affairs, 1937-42. Lieutenant-Governor-General of Netherlands East Indies in 1942.
- MORENO, C. GUEVARA.** Minister of the Interior of Ecuador, 1944. Fought in the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. Before taking up his ministry he was private secretary to the President.
- MORGENTHAU, HENRY, JUNIOR.** U.S. Secretary of Treasury since 1934. Born in 1891. Educated at Cornell University. Served in U.S. Navy, 1917-18. Specialized in agricultural questions. Chairman of President Roosevelt's Agricultural Commission. Conservation Commissioner of New York State, 1931.
- MORRISON, HERBERT STANLEY.** Lord President of the Council since 1945. Former Home Secretary and Minister of Home Security (since 1940). Born in 1888. Mayor of Hackney, 1920-1. Labour M.P. for South Hackney, 1923. Minister of Transport, 1929-31. Chairman of Labour Party, 1928-9. Alderman and Leader of London County Council, 1934-40. Minister of Supply, 1940. Member of War Cabinet since 1942.
- MOUNTBATTEN, LORD LOUIS.** Admiral. Allied C.-in-C., South-eastern Asia since 1943. Born in 1900. Educated at Dartmouth and Cambridge. Entered R.N., 1913. Personal Naval A.D.C. to King Edward VIII and King George VI. Chief of Combined Operations, 1942-3.
- MUSELIER, EMILE HENRY.** French Vice-Admiral. Born in 1882. Educated at Brest Naval Academy. Entered Navy in 1902. Served as naval officer in 1914-18. Attached to Clemenceau. Chief of Staff of Occupation Army in Germany. Rear-Admiral, 1933. In charge of Bizerta. Vice-Admiral, commanding at Marseilles, 1939. C.-in-C. of Free French Navy. Adopted the Cross of Lorraine. Assistant to General Giraud, 1943.

NASH, WALTER. New Zealand Minister to Washington since 1942. Born in England in 1882. Emigrated to New Zealand in 1909 and joined Labour Party. Delegate, International Labour Conference, 1920. Secretary, N.Z. Labour Party, 1922-32. Minister of Finance, 1935, and of Marketing, 1936-41. Acting Prime Minister in 1941. Member of War Cabinet, 1940-1.

NEMEC, FRANTISEK. Czechoslovak Minister of Commerce and Industry. Born in 1898. Became Secretary-General of Railway Trade Unions and Social Democrat Member of Parliament. Engaged in resistance movement. Escaped in 1940; joined Czechoslovak Legion. Minister of Social Welfare, 1940-2.

NEWALL, SIR CYRIL. Governor-General of New Zealand since 1941. Air Chief Marshal. Born in 1886. Educated at Sandhurst. Entered Army in 1905. Fought in War of 1914-18 as Commander of R.A.F. brigade. Air A.D.C. to the King, 1923-4. Deputy Chief of Air Staff, 1926-31. Air Marshal, 1935. Chief of Air Staff, 1937-41.

NIMITZ, CHESTER WILLIAM. U.S. Admiral and C.-in-C. of Pacific Fleet. Born in 1885. Educated, Naval Academy, from which he graduated in 1905. Chief of Staff of Commander of the Atlantic Submarine Force, 1918. Assistant Chief of Bureau of Navigation, 1935-8. Chief of Bureau of Navigation, 1939-41.

NOEL-BAKER, PHILIP. Minister of State since 1945. Born in 1889. Educated at York and Cambridge. Member of the League of Nations Section of British Delegation to Paris Peace Conference. Worked in League Secretariat and Delegation to League Assembly. Labour M.P. since 1929. P.P.S. to Arthur Henderson at the Foreign Office.

NOSEK, VACLAV. Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior since 1945. Born in 1896. Was a coalminer at Kladno. Entered the trade union movement and became Secretary-General of the Miners Union. Elected chairman of the Czechoslovak T.U.C., 1935. After the occupation of Prague he escaped to France and then to Great Britain, where he was appointed one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Czechoslovak State Council to represent the Communist Party.

NYGAARDSVOLD, JOHAN. Former Norwegian Prime Minister. Born in 1879 at Kommelvik. Worked in a factory, went to the U.S.A. in 1901, returned to Norway in 1908, joined the Labour Party, which he represented in the Storting since 1915. He was several times President of the Storting and the Norwegian Lower House. First became Cabinet Minister in the short-lived Hornsrud Labour Government of 1928 and became Prime Minister and Minister of Labour in 1935.

OSMENA, SERGIO. President of the Philippines since 1944. Born in 1878. Called to the Bar, 1903. Speaker of the Assembly, 1907-16, and of the House of Representatives, 1916-22. President of Nationalist Party, 1907-21. Secretary of Education, 1936.

OSOBKA-MORAWSKI, EDWARD BOLESŁAW. Prime Minister of Polish Government of National Unity. Born in 1909, son of a locksmith. Studied economics while working in munition factory. Instructor of co-operative movement and organizer of workman's university, 1937. Active socialist and journalist. During the whole period of occupation one of the party leaders. Deputy Chairman of National Council.

PACHACHI, HAMDI. Iraq Prime Minister. Born in Baghdad, 1886. Graduated at Shakani Malaki School, Istambul, 1909. Professor at Baghdad Law College. Took part in Arab Independence Movement and in the Iraq revolution, and was banished to Isle of Hinjam. Elected Deputy. Minister of Waqfs and Acting Minister of Defence. Re-elected Deputy for Baghdad Liwa, 1935.

PATTERSON, ROBERT P. U.S. Secretary of War since 1945. Born in 1894. Studied at Union College and Harvard University. Called to the Bar in 1915. Judge until 1940, when he was appointed Assistant Secretary of War.

PETER II, KING OF YUGOSLAVIA. Born in 1923, son of King Alexander. Educated at Belgrade and in a Surrey public school. Succeeded his father after his assassination in 1934 under a regency headed by Prince Paul. Was declared of age in 1941, when he assumed full sovereign powers. At the German invasion, retired to Greece and Egypt, went to Britain, was a student of economics at Cambridge and went to Cairo in 1943. Married Princess Alexandra of Greece in 1944.

PETHICK-LAWRENCE, THE RT. HON. FREDERICK WILLIAM. Secretary for India and Burma since August, 1945. Born in 1871. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge. Fellow of Trinity College, 1897. Editor of the *Echo* 1902-5. Editor of the *Labour Record and Review*, 1905-7. Labour M.P. for West Leicester, 1923-31. Financial Secretary of the Treasury, 1929-31. Member of the Indian Round Table Conference, 1931. Labour M.P. for East Edinburgh since 1935.

PHARON, HENRY. Foreign Minister of Lebanon since 1943. Born in 1903. Lawyer and banker. Deputy for Bekaa.

PIERLOT, HUBERT. Former Belgian Prime Minister. Born in 1883. Educated at Louvain University, where he took his degree in law. Called to the Brussels Bar. Fought in the War of 1914-18 and became Captain in the Chasseurs Ardennais Regiment. Chief of the Cabinet of Prime Minister in 1919. Senator for Belgian Luxembourg since 1926. President of the Catholic Party. Minister of Interior, 1934-5. Minister of Agriculture, 1936-8. Prime Minister since 1939.

PLEVEN, RENÉ. French Minister for National Economy and Finance. Former Commissioner for Colonies. Born in 1901. Educated at the Paris School of Political Sciences. Doctor of Law. Managing director of business concerns in England since 1931. Assistant Head of the French Air Mission in the U.S., 1939. Secretary-General of French Equatorial African Government, 1940, after joining de Gaulle. National Commissioner for Economy, Finance and Colonies in London, 1941-3.

RAESTAD, ARNOLD CHRISTOPHER. Norwegian statesman and Governor of Bank of Norway. Born in 1878. Studied Law at Oslo. Called to the Bar. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1921-2. Lecturer at Oslo University. Member of Norwegian Academy of Science. President of Norwegian State Broadcasting.

RINGERS, DR. JOHANNES A. Netherlands Minister of the Office of Works. Born in Alkmaar, 1885. Entered the Department of Works as a hydraulic engineer. Became head of the Company for draining the Zuiderzee, 1927. Director-General of Public Works, which he resigned on his appointment to the Board of Management of the Dutch East Indies Railway Co., 1930. Deputy for Reconstruction in 1940. Imprisoned in a concentration camp.

RIOS, JUAN ANTONIO. President of the Republic of Chile. Born in Cañete on November 10, 1888, and educated at the Liceo de Lebu and the Liceo de Concepción, he studied law in Concepción and in 1914 was called to the Bar at the Supreme Court of Justice. Mayor of Concepción Radical Deputy for Arauco in the National Congress. Member of the Finance and Foreign Relations Commissions. Minister to Panama in 1925. In 1930 President of the Radical Party and Senator for Arauco, Malleco and Cautin. Minister for the Interior, and, after a brief period, Minister of Justice. President of the Popular Front. In 1938 he stood as candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the Convention of the Leftist Parties, at which President Corda, his predecessor, was elected.

RIPKA, DR. HUBERT. Czechoslovak Minister for Foreign Trade since 1945. Born in 1895. Studied history at Prague. Became archivist of the Czechoslovak Ministry of War and political writer. Took up the Foreign Editorship of the leading political paper, travelling extensively in Europe, and published in 1939 *Munich, Before and After*. Became a member of the Czechoslovak National Council in Paris and took a leading part in the organization of the liberation movement. Was appointed Secretary of State at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry and, in 1942, Minister of State, entrusted with the direction of the Information Service.

ROCKEFELLER, NELSON A. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State. Born in 1908. Attended Lincoln School, New York and Dartmouth College. Graduated, 1930. Worked in Chase National Bank. President of Rockefeller Centre development in New York City and director of several South American enterprises, 1938. Visited every Latin-American country, 1937. Appointed Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1940.

ROLA-ZYMIERSKI, MICHAEL. Marshal of Poland and Minister of National Defence since 1945. Born in 1890, in Cracow, where he studied law and political science. Commander and Organizer of Polish Riflemen Division and Officers School. Deputy Minister of Defence, 1924-5. Close collaborator of Sikorski. Returned to Poland in 1938 from abroad and organized detachments of People's Army during German occupation. C-in-C. of Polish forces.

RZYMOWSKI, WINCENTY. Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs. Born in 1883. Studied political science in Geneva and Lausanne. Took a degree in law at Odessa. Author of books and articles in democratic Press. Member of Polish Committee of National Liberation. Member of Democratic Party.

SARAJOGLU, SHUKRI. Turkish Prime Minister since 1942. Former Deputy and Minister of Finance. Minister of Justice, 1932-8 and of Foreign Affairs, 1938-42.

- SERRATO, JOSÉ. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay. Born, September 30, 1868. Engineer of the National Engineering Department. Professor of Mathematics in University of Montevideo. Deputy. President of the Mortgage Bank of Uruguay. Was President of the Republic.
- SHINWELL, EMANUEL. Minister of Fuel and Power since 1945. Born in 1884. Labour M.P. for Linlithgow, 1922-4 and 1928-31. Financial Secretary to the War Office, 1929-30. Parliamentary Secretary to the Department of Mines, 1924 and 1930-31. M.P. for Seaham Division of Durham since 1935.
- SHVERNIK, NIKOLAI. First Vice-President of the Supreme Soviet. Born in 1888. Metal-worker. Member of the Communist Party since 1902. People's Commissar, 1922. General Secretary of Trades Unions, 1930. Chairman of Soviet Commission on Nazi Crimes.
- SIMOVITCH, DUSHAN. Yugoslav general. Born in 1882. Educated Military Academy, Belgrade. Fought in Balkan wars and in 1914-18. A.D.C. to King Alexander, 1919. Chief of Staff, Air Force Command, 1925-8. C.-in-C., Air Force, 1936-8 and 1940. Chief of General Staff, 1938-9. Took a prominent part in the *coup d'état* against Prince Paul on March 27, 1941. Was made Prime Minister. Resigned in 1942.
- SINCLAIR, SIR ARCHIBALD. Former Secretary of State for Air 1940-5. Born in 1890. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst. Entered Army in 1910. Secretary to the War Secretary, 1919-21. Entered Parliament (Liberal) in 1922. Chief Whip of Liberal Party, 1930-1. Secretary of State for Scotland, 1931-2. Parliamentary Leader of Liberal Party, 1935. Lord Rector, Glasgow, 1938.
- SIROKY, VILIAM. Czechoslovak Vice-Premier since 1945. Born in 1902. Entered the Railway service. Did secretarial work in the Communist Party, 1920. M.P. for Communist Party, 1935. After Munich he went to France and the U.S.S.R. and returned to Czechoslovakia to participate in the resistance movement. Arrested but escaped from the Puppet government to the U.S.S.R.
- SMUTS, JAN CHRISTIAN, FIELD-MARSHAL. South African Prime Minister. Born in 1870. Educated at Stellenbosch and Cambridge. State Attorney of South African Republic, 1898. C.-in-C., Republican Forces of the Cape Colony. Commanded British Forces, East Africa, 1916-17. Member of Imperial War Cabinet, 1917-18. Minister of War, 1910-12. Minister of Defence, 1910-20. Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs, 1919-24. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, 1934-9. Prime Minister, Minister for External Affairs and Defence since 1939.
- SOHEYLI, ALI. Former Iranian Prime Minister. Born in 1897. Educated at Teheran. Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1931. Minister to Britain, 1936-8. Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1938 and 1940-2.
- SOONG, T. V. (Sung Tze-wen), Chinese Prime Minister. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Born in Shanghai, 1891. B.A., Harvard, 1915. Minister of Finance and Vice-President of the Executive Yuan, 1928-31 and 1932-3. Chief Delegate to the World Economic Conference in London, 1933. Founder and Chairman of Bank of China since 1935. On several special missions to Europe and Washington from 1940 to 1943.

**SPAAK, PAUL HENRI.** Belgian Deputy Prime Minister. Foreign Minister since 1939. Born in 1899. Studied law at Brussels University. Called to the Bar. Socialist Member of House of Representatives. Served in the War of 1914-18. German prisoner from 1916-18. Minister of Transport, 1935-6. Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1936-8. Prime Minister, 1938-9. Left France for Spain in August, 1940, where he was detained. Joined his colleagues in London in October, 1940. Foreign Minister in Van Acker Government.

**ŠRAMEK, JAN.** Czechoslovak Prime Minister, 1940-45. Vice-Premier since 1945. Born in 1870. Studied theology at Olomouc. Was ordained priest, 1892, and became Professor of Christian Sociology. Entered politics and was Member of Moravian Diet in 1906, Austrian Parliament, 1907. Czechoslovak Constitutional Assembly, 1918, and Czechoslovak Parliament since 1920. Minister of Railways, 1921-2; of Public Health, 1922-7; of Social Welfare, 1926-9. Deputy Prime Minister, 1926-9. Minister for Unification of Laws since 1932. Protonotary of the Pope. Escaped in 1939 via Poland to England and became the first President of the Czechoslovak National Committee in Paris.

**STALIN, JOSEPH VISSARIONOVITCH (DJUGUSHVILI).** Marshal of the Soviet Union. Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars. Born in 1879, the son of a bootmaker. Educated, Seminary for Priests at Tiflis, from which he was expelled in 1899. Leader of Tiflis Social Democrats. Organised Batum strikes in 1902. Exiled to Siberia in 1903. With Lenin at the All-Russian Conference of the Bolshevik Party in Finland. Several times imprisoned and exiled and freed by the 1917 Revolution. Commissar for Nationalisation, 1917-23. General Secretary of Communist Party since 1922. After Lenin's death, he continued in this post until, in 1941, he assumed the chairmanship of People's Commissars (Premiership). He is also Commissar of Defence, and C-in-C. since 1941.

**STANSGATE, FIRST VISCOUNT, WILLIAM WEDGWOOD BENN.** Secretary for Air since August, 1945. Born in 1877. B.A., London University. Fellow of University College, London. Liberal M.P., 1906-18. Junior Lord of the Treasury, 1910-15. Liberal M.P. for Leith, 1918-27. Labour M.P. for North Aberdeen, 1928-31, and Gorton Division of Manchester, 1937-42. Secretary of State for India, 1929-31, of Public Relations, Air Ministry, 1942-3. Vice-President, Director Allied Controls Commission for Italy, 1943-4.

**STARK, HAROLD R.** U.S., Admiral. Commander U.S. Naval Forces in Europe. Born in 1880. Graduated from Naval Academy in 1903. Served on Admiral Sims' staff, 1917-19. Assistant to Secretary of the Navy, 1930-3. Rear-admiral, 1934. Chief, Bureau of Ordnance Navy Department, 1934-7. Chief of Naval Operations, 1939-42.

**STØSTAD, SVERRE.** Former Norwegian Minister of Social Welfare since 1939. Born in 1887. Started as a builder's labourer, and in 1918 became Secretary to Trade Union Information Office. Labour Deputy since 1922.

**STRANSKY, JAROSLAV.** Czechoslovak Minister of Justice since 1940. Born in 1884. Studied law at Prague University. Called to the Bar. Owner

of the *Lidové Noviny*. Member of Parliament, 1918-21 and 1929-38. Professor of Criminal Law of the Brno Masaryk University. Vice-Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs, 1937-8.

STRASSBURGER, HENRYK. Polish Minister of State in charge of Polish Affairs in the Middle East since 1943. Born in 1887. Educated, Heidelberg and Kharkov Universities. Graduated in law at Heidelberg. Under-Secretary of State in Ministry of Commerce 1918-23. Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Affairs, 1923-4. Polish Commissioner-General in Danzig, 1924-32. Minister of Finance, 1939-43.

SUBAČIĆ, IVAN. Yugoslav Foreign Minister since 1944. Born in 1892 in Croatia. Studied law and worked as advocate in Zagreb. Member of the Croatian Peasant Party, he became a Senator in 1939, and in August of that year Ban of Croatia. Went into exile in 1941 after the German attack and followed King and Government, ultimately settling in the U.S.A. Became Prime Minister in 1944 and joined Marshal Tito's Government as Foreign Minister.

SVOBODA, GENERAL LUDVIK. Czechoslovak Minister of National Defence since 1945. Born in Bohemia, 1895. Studied Agriculture. Fought in First World War. Professor of Military Academy at Hranice. Helped to organize underground movement in Bohemia after 1939. Went to Poland to organize a Czech force, June, 1939, and in September crossed to the U.S.S.R. with 300 men. Led the Czech unit in the Russian Army. Awarded the Lenin Order.

TIETGEN, PIERRE-HENRI. Minister of Justice since May 31, 1945, in French Government. Born, May 29, 1908. Professor of Law at Nancy University in 1935 and Editor of *Le Droit Social*. Infantry lieutenant in the Maginot Line, 1939. Taken prisoner June, 1940, and escaped in August to unoccupied France. Taught law at Montpellier, 1940. Founded the resistance movement 'Liberté,' 1941, and was head of the underground news agency. Dismissed from teaching by Vichy in 1942. Became Secretary-General of C.G.E. and was known as 'Quintos.' Arrested, June 6, 1944. Imprisoned and tortured by the Gestapo. Escaped. Made Minister of Information, September 10, 1944.

TIMOSHENKO, SEMYON KONSTANTINOVITCH. Marshal of the Soviet Union. Born in 1895 in Bessarabia. Entered Tsarist Army in 1915. Joined Communist Party in 1919 and fought in the Revolution. Commander of 6th Cavalry Division in 1919. Commander, North Caucasian Military Area, 1937. Commander, Kharkov, 1937-8, Kiev, 1938-40. Commissar for Defence till 1941. Commanded operations on southern and south-western fronts, 1941-2, and northern front, 1943.

TITO, MARSHAL JOSIP BROZ. Commander of the Yugoslav Army. Yugoslav Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence. Born, May 25, 1893. In First World War mobilized in the Austro-Hungarian Army, but went over to the Russian front. After the war, returned as an active T.U. leader. Persecuted by dictatorial régimes. Leader of the National Liberation Movement and Supreme Commander of the Partisan Army. From November, 1943, President of the National Committee of Liberation. Author of *The Liberation Struggle of the Yugoslav Peoples*.



- TIXIER, ADRIEN. French Minister of the Interior. Born in 1893. Schoolmaster. Served in the last war and lost an arm. Chief of Social Insurance and Disabled Section of Research Division of I.L.O., 1920-37. Deputy Secretary of the I.L.O. in 1937. Appointed by De Gaulle to head French delegation to U.S.A., October, 1941. Appointed Commissioner of Labour in F.C.N.L. in Algiers.
- TORP, OSCAR. Norwegian Minister of Defence since 1942. Born in 1893. Electrician and trade union official. Chairman of Norwegian Labour Party. Chairman of Oslo Municipal Council since 1934. Minister of Defence, 1935-6. Minister of Social Affairs, 1936-9. Minister of Finance, 1939-42.
- TRUMAN, HARRY S. President of the U.S.A. since 1945. Born in 1884. Student at Kansas City School of Law, 1923-25. At Field Artillery School, 1917-18. Presiding Judge, Judge Jackson County Court, 1926-34. Member of U.S. Senate since 1935. Vice-President, 1944-45.
- TUBMAN, WILLIAM V. S. President of Liberia since 1944. Born in 1895. Studied law. Called to the Bar, 1917. Senator, 1922. Assistant Justice of the High Court, 1937-44.
- URSINY, JAN. Czechoslovak Vice-Premier since 1945. Born in 1896, in Slovakia. Studied agriculture at the Moravian College. Entered the Co-operative Movement, 1926. Became Chairman of the Union of Farmers' Finance Co-operatives, and Chairman of the Union of Farmers' Co-operatives. M.P. for Agrarian Party, 1929. One of the founders of the resistance body, the Slovak National Council. Took an active part in the uprising in 1944. Visited Beneš in London as a member of the delegation of the Slovak National Council, October, 1944.
- VAN ACKER, ACHILLE. Belgian Prime Minister since 1945. Born in Bruges, 1898. Member of Parliament since 1925. Labour Deputy for Bruges. Member of Labour Commission and Commission for Public Works.
- VAN DER BYL, PIETER. South African Minister for Native Affairs since 1942. Fought in the War of 1914-18. A.D.C. of Field-Marshal Haig in 1921. Member of South African Parliament. Minister without Portfolio, 1939-42.
- VAN DER LEEUW, PROFESSOR DR. G. Netherlands Minister for Education, Arts and Sciences since 1945. Professor of Groningen University. Born at The Hague, 1890. Studied Theology at Leyden, Berlin and Gottingen. Graduated in Theology, 1916. He has published numerous works.
- VAN GLABBEKE, ADOLPHE. Belgian Minister of the Interior. Liberal Deputy for Ostend since 1936. Graduate from Princeton University (U.S.A.). Previously held his present portfolio, 1940.
- VAN KLEFFENS, DR. E. N. Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs. Born in 1894, at Heerenveen. Doctor of Law at Leiden, 1918. Attached to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, 1919-20. Assistant-director of the Diplomatic section of the Netherlands Foreign Office, 1922-7, and Director, 1929-39. Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, 1939. Minister of Foreign Affairs, August 10, 1939, which post he has since held.

- VAN KOLFSCHOTEN, HAMT. Netherlands Minister for Justice since 1945. Born at Arnhem, 1903. Studied at St. Willebrordus College, 1915-21. Student of Law Amsterdam University, 1921-6. Deputy Secretary of the Roman Catholic State Party, 1927. During the last years he was member of the 'Vaderlandsche Comite.' Recently asked by the Queen to join the Convent of Political Parties.
- VAN ROYEN, J. H. Netherlands Minister without Portfolio since June, 1945. Born in Istambul, 1905. Studied Law at Utrecht University. Appointed Attaché to the Dutch Legation in Washington, 1930. Made Legation Secretary for Department of Foreign Affairs, 1933, and as such went to Tokio in 1935. Succeeded van Kleffens as chief of the Diplomatic Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at The Hague, 1939. During the occupation he was imprisoned three times and in October, 1944, escaped to London as representative of the Government's confidential advisers. Attended the San Francisco Conference.
- VAN SCHAIK, THEODORUS, S.C.J.M. Netherlands Minister of Communications and Power since 1945. Born in 1888. Diploma in Engineering at Delft University. Worked for Maastricht Coal Mines, and joined Arnhem concern, A.K.U. During the occupation he did illegal work in the Arnhem district.
- VARGAS, GETULIO. President of Brazil since 1930. Born in 1882. Studied law at Porto Alegre. Called to the Bar at Rio Grande do Sul. Member of Provincial Congress. Deputy, 1911-19 and 1922-6. Minister of Finance in 1926. President of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, where he became leader of revolutionary movement.
- VASILEVSKI, ALEXANDER MIKHAILOVITCH. U.S.S.R. Chief of General Staff since 1943. Marshal. Born in 1901. In 1942 became Deputy People's Commissar for Defence. Organized Voronesh Offensive, 1942-3.
- VENIZELOS, SOPHOCLES. Former Greek Vice-Premier 1944-5. Born in 1894, a son of Eleftherios Venizelos. Went to an Athens secondary school and entered the Greek Military Academy in 1911. Second Lieutenant, artillery, 1914. Fought in World War and Asia Minor. Deputy for Canea in 1920. Military Attaché, Paris, 1922-31. After the fall of France he went to the U.S.A. Became Minister of Air and Marine in 1943 and Prime Minister in April, 1944. Joined Papandreou Government in June, 1944.
- VLEESCHAUWER, ALBERT DE. Former Belgian Minister of Colonies 1938-45. Born in 1897. Studied law. Called to the Bar at Louvain in 1923. Professor of Commercial Law and of Economics in Louvain. Deputy for Louvain since 1932. *Chef du Cabinet* of the Minister of Agriculture, 1929-30. Administrator of Belgian Congo, 1940. Minister of Justice, 1940-2. Minister of Public Instruction since 1942.
- VOROSHILOV, KLEMENTI EFREMOVITCH. U.S.S.R. marshal. Born in 1881. Factory worker, joined Social Democratic Party. Arrested, 1899. Joined Bolshevik section in 1903. Fought under Stalin. Led defence of Stalingrad in 1918. People's Commissar for Home Affairs in the

- Ukraine, 1919. Commander, Moscow Military District, 1924. People's Commissar for Defence since 1925. Vice-Chairman of Council of People's Commissars, 1940.
- VOS, H. Netherlands Minister for Commerce and Industry since 1945. Member for the Social Democratic Workers Party. Born in 1903. Studied engineering at Delft. Entered State Service for Industry. In the service of the Patent Office as engineer, 1928-34. Member of the Amsterdam Municipal Council and in 1937 Member of the Second Chamber.
- VYSHINSKI, ANDREJ JANUARIEVITCH. U.S.S.R. Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs since 1940. Born in 1883. Joined Social Democratic Party in 1902. Secretary of Baku Soviet, 1905. Attorney-General, 1923-5. Professor of Law, Moscow University, 1925-7. Commissar for Justice and Public Prosecutor, 1935-9. Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars since 1940. Soviet Representative, Allied Mediterranean Commission, 1943.
- WALLACE, HENRY A. U.S. Secretary of Commerce since 1945. Born in 1888. Educated at Iowa State College. Editor of *Wallace's Farmer*, 1910-33. Secretary for Agriculture, 1933-40. Author of many books on economics and politics. Chairman of U.S. Board of Economic Warfare, 1942-3. Vice-President of the United States, 1941-45.
- WAVELL, ARCHIBALD PERCIVAL, VISCOUNT. Field-Marshal. Viceroy of India since 1943. Born in 1883. Educated at Winchester and Sandhurst. Served in the South African and the 1914-18 wars. Military Attaché to the Russian Army Caucasus, 1916-7. Major-General, 1933. General, 1940. A.D.C. to the King, 1932-3 and 1941. C-in-C., Middle East, 1941. C-in-C. India, 1941-3.
- WESTWOOD, THE RT. HON. JOSEPH. Secretary of State for Scotland since August, 1945. Born in 1884. Miner, 1898-1916. M.P. for Peebles and South Midlothian, 1922-31. Political Organizer for Scottish miners, 1918-29. Parliamentary Secretary for Scotland, 1931. M.P. for Stirling and Falkirk since 1935. Parliamentary Under-Secretary for State for Scotland, 1940-5.
- WILHELMINA HELENE PAULINE MARIA, QUEEN OF THE NETHERLANDS, PRINCESS OF ORANGE NASSAU. Born, August 31, 1880. Succeeded to the throne at her father's, King William III's death in 1890. Married Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1901. Their daughter, Princess Juliana, heir to the throne, married in 1937 Prince Bernard of Lippe-Biesterfeld. In 1940, at the German invasion, left Holland and came to London.
- WILKINSON, THE RT. HON. ELLEN C. Minister of Education since August, 1945. Educated at Manchester University. Labour M.P. for Middlesbrough East, 1924-31. M.P. for Jarrow Division of Durham since 1935. Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Pensions, 1940. Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Security, 1940-5.
- WILLIAMS, TOM. Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries since 1945. Born in 1888. Checkweigher, 1916-22. Parliamentary Private Secretary to Ministry of Agriculture, 1924. Parliamentary Private Secretary to Minister of Labour, 1929-31. Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, 1940-5.

- WOLD, TERJE. Former Norwegian Minister of Justice (1939-45). Born in 1899. Educated at Oslo University. Lawyer in 1921. Judge in the Court of Appeal, 1936-9, when he entered Nygaardsvold Government.
- WOMERSLEY, SIR WALTER. Former Minister of Pensions. Born in 1878. M.P. (Conservative) since 1924. Assistant Postmaster-General, 1935-9.
- YSTGAARD, HANS. Former Norwegian Minister of Agriculture (1935-45). Expert in agricultural questions. Labour politician. Chairman of County Council at Sparbu.
- ZEELAND, PAUL VAN. Belgian Ambassador in charge of repatriation. Born in 1893. Educated at Louvain and Princeton Universities. Director of Belgian National Bank. Director, Louvain Institute of Economic Sciences. Deputy for Brussels. Minister without Portfolio, 1934-5. Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1935-7. Author of books on economy and politics.
- ZHUKOV, GRIGORY KONSTANTINOVITCH. Marshal of the Soviet Union. First Deputy Commissar for Defence since 1942. Born 1895. Enlisted in the Czarist Army. Later joined Red Army. Commander of Kiev. In charge of Moscow outer defences, 1941. C.-in-C., Western Front, 1941-2. C.-in-C., southern front, 1942.

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